

IN THESE TIMES

Vol. 1, No. 32

June 29-July 5, 1977

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AN AMERICAN WAY OF STEALING

Small time thieves tell how, where and why they steal.

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THE INSIDE STORY

JOHN JUDIS



Victorious congressman John E. Cunningham.

Rightist populists, divided Democrats

A Seattle congressional race has breathed new life into the Republicans' sagging spirits and signalled danger ahead for the Democratic party.

Washington's Seventh District has been called "Boeing country" because most of Boeing's 47,000 Seattle-area workers live there. Since it was apportioned in 1958, a Republican has won only once, and since 1964, Democrat Brock Adams had held the seat—in 1976 he won by a three-to-one margin.

In the May 17 election for the vacant seat created by Adams' appointment as Carter's Secretary of Transportation, Marvin Durning, a liberal Democrat, faced John E. Cunningham, a rightwing Republican.

It looked like an easy win for Durning, who led Cunningham two to one in pre-election polls. Besides getting expected support from labor and Washington's big-name Democrats, Durning also got the support of Seattle's two major dailies.

But through a campaign that drew on money and experience from conservatives around the country and went after Durning's blue-collar constituency with a brand of rightwing populism, Cunningham scored the upset of the year. He garnered 54 percent of the vote to Durning's 44.

Rightwing money.

Rightwing money played a role in Cunningham's win. Altogether, the national rightwing network raised an astonishing \$250,000, permitting Cunningham to outspend his opponent by two to one, and making the race the most expensive congressional contest in Washington history.

Richard Viguerie, the Washington D.C. super-fund-

raiser for the far right, put together a direct-mail appeal from his network.

Such organizations as the Committee for the Right to Keep and Bear Arms and the Virginia-based National Conservative Political Action Committee came through with the maximum allowable \$10,000.

The network also brought in organizers: Merrill Jacobs from the National Conservative Political Action Committee and Mike Poling and Bruce Anderson from the Republican National Committee.

Armed with \$250,000, these professionals devised a campaign that assumed a low overall voter turnout but concentrated on identifying Cunningham supporters and getting them to the polls on election day. No attempt to affect the overall turnout was made. (Republicans call this strategy the "Kasten plan" after its successful use by Wisconsin congressman Robert Kasten.)

The plan worked on election day. Overall turnout was an abysmal 30 percent, but in Cunningham-identified strongholds it was significantly higher than elsewhere.

Rightwing populism.

Cunningham's political approach was also essential to his strong showing. For several years, "new right populists" like former Nixon speechwriter Patrick Buchanan and Buffalo congressman Jack E. Kemp had been calling on Republicans to shed their image as the party of business to use "pocketbook issues" (in Kemp's words) to go after the blue-collar vote.

With the poor Republican showing in November, these sentiments found favor as well from Ronald Reagan ("The new Republican party I envision will not, and cannot be one limited to the country club/big business image that it is burdened with today") and with the newly appointed Republican National Chairman William Brock ("Too many voters see us as ... a barely disguised front for big corporations...")

Cunningham adopted the "new right" approach and directly challenged Durning's support among blue-collar families. He made jobs "the number one issue." He accused Durning of favoring defense cuts and environmental regulations that would deprive Washington workers of their jobs.

Cunningham, an ex-basketball star and businessman, portrayed himself as a self-made man with his roots in middle America and the Harvard-educated Durning as an Ivy League lawyer whose real allegiance was to the Washington D.C. liberal establishment.

With Durning on the defensive, hedging on past positions, Cunningham was at least able to neutralize Durning's appeal among blue-collar workers.

Divided Democrats.

But, according to *Seattle Times* political analyst Richard W. Larsen, the key to Cunningham's victory was the divisions within the King County Democratic party between the "liberals" and the "conservatives." These divisions date from the Vietnam war when local Democrats disagreed about Lyndon Johnson's handling of the war. Now they disagree about the arms race, environmental regulations, social programs, and the need for a state income tax.

Durning was a liberal, and in the primary he defeated the conservative candidate Martin Durkan. While the liberal Brock Adams had been able to hold together the party on election time, Durning was not.

According to Larsen, conservative Democrats quietly "spread the word" to support Cunningham. They assumed they could always win back the seat with the "right kind of democrat."

In this respect, Cunningham's win was more of a Democratic defeat than a Republican victory. It was sim-

ilar to S.I. Hayakawa's win last fall in California's senatorial race, where Hayakawa's opponent John Tunney could not unite California Democrats, or James Thompson's win in Illinois' governor race. (The same thing may happen in Virginia's governor's race this fall when quasi-populist Henry Howell, at the head of a divided Democratic party, faces Republican John Dalton.)

Political instability.

But whether Republican victory or Democratic defeat, the Seattle election is significant:

- The division among Seattle's Democrats, far from being atypical, runs right through the national party. A party that built its majorities on the promise of growing prosperity and on the crusade against communism, the Democrats find themselves hopelessly divided in the face of permanent recession and detente.

The Seattle election is another sign of the growing unpredictability and instability in American politics created by changed world conditions.

- The development of "new right populism" in the Republican party is a response to the growing distrust Americans have of large corporations and of a party identified with their interests. But in so far as this response is purely opportunistic, it has a limited political future.

In Seattle, Cunningham had the issue of defense on which to peg his support for workers' jobs and welfare. He didn't have to deal with such unpleasant subjects as the Humphrey-Hawkins bill or tax reform. Elsewhere, Republicans will not have such an easy time, and unless their opponent is as conservative as they are, will have difficulty maintaining their identification with the wage-earner against the corporation.

It may be that in "new right populism" there are the seeds of further division and not unity within the Republican party. On one side will be those like Pat Buchanan who are already taking the logic of their position toward "populism" and away from "the right." (Buchanan recently declared that "when it is a contest between Henry Ford and the United Auto Workers, we've got to side with the working guy and his job.")

On the other side will be the more conventional big business sympathizers in populist clothing like chairman Brock or Ronald Reagan, who will finally recoil before moving toward genuine populism.

By seeming to affirm the correctness of the new right populists, Cunningham's victory may hasten that division within the party and bring still further instability to American two-party politics.

Labor party in the act

Alexander Cockburn and James Ridgeway report that the U.S. Labor party, long suspected of being on the CIA payroll, had played informer for the FBI and the New Hampshire Attorney General during the recent Seabrook demonstrations. (*Village Voice*, June 13) The U.S. Labor party was also on hand for the Durning-Cunningham election. Its role was to discredit Durning.

Ted Andromidas, the party's candidate, attacked Durning for being weak on the USSR and defense spending. He challenged him (in front of a *Seattle Times* reporter) to "reverse his support of marijuana decriminalization or stand exposed as a drug pusher." (Durning did not take a position on marijuana decriminalization.)

Andromidas also accused Durning of being "lined up behind Jimmy Carter's current drive to drug the nation's youth into accepting his slave-labor Youth Conservation Corps jobs and other zero-energy-growth genocide programs."

Andromidas got 114 votes.

IN THESE TIMES

THE INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST NEWSPAPER

Published 50 times a year: weekly except the last week of July and the fourth week of December by New Majority Publishing Co., Inc., 1509 North Milwaukee Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60622, (312) 489-4444, TWX: 910-221-5401, Cable: THESE TIMES, Chicago, IL.

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Printed at Merrill, Co., Hinsdale, IL, a Graphic Arts International Union (AFL-CIO) shop.

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This edition published June 29, 1977, for newsstand sales June 29-July 5.

US/USSR human rights battle

By Robert K. Schaeffer

The 1975 Helsinki accords marked a new stage in East-West relations. In exchange for agreeing to human rights provisions, the Soviet Union and its Eastern European allies won Western assent to their own legitimacy and sovereignty. It seemed that the Cold War was over.

But as 35 countries assembled in Belgrade last week to hammer out an agenda for this fall's follow-up to the Helsinki meeting, the proceedings were chilled by the increasingly icy relations between the U.S. and USSR.

Immediately at issue was whether the fall conference would focus on a review of human rights violations, as the U.S. proposed, or on future East-West ties, as the Soviet Union proposed. Also at issue is an American proposal for future meetings.

At the end of last week, a nine-nation compromise proposal failed to break the deadlock between the U.S. and USSR over the agenda.

Two meanings of detente

The Helsinki accords provided for the "respect of human rights and fundament-

U.S./Soviet relations are at their lowest ebb since the '60s... First the SALT breakdown, now the deadlock at Belgrade.

al freedoms." But it also provided that nations "not interfere in the internal affairs" of other countries. For the U.S., detente is conditional upon the improvement of individual freedoms in the Soviet Union. For the USSR, detente means that its internal affairs are outside the purview of the U.S.

At Belgrade the U.S. presented a 95-page paper that listed all the Soviet Union's violations of the human rights clauses of the Helsinki agreement. Incidents cited by the report included the harassment of journalists (Robert Toth, the reporter for the *Los Angeles Times*, being the most recent case), the arrest of political dissidents, and the refusal to grant exit papers to all but a small portion of potential

emigres.

Observers inside the Soviet Union agree that the government there has intensified its attacks against dissidents, but suggest that the Carter administration's handling of the problem is partly to blame. Roy Medvedev, a Soviet dissident writing in *Newsweek*, suggested that Carter's advocacy of human rights exacerbated the pressure on dissidents while, in contrast, Henry Kissinger's "quiet diplomacy" achieved more than all the previous statesmen of the West who have come out in favor of human rights. Great powers have a high sensitivity to their prestige... and Kissinger tried not to offend the USSR."

On the other side of the human rights

coin, the Soviet Union has been compiling its own list of American violations in the event of a Belgrade confrontation. Citing the condition of blacks in the U.S., the Wilmington 10 trial, and the refusal to grant visas to trade union delegations from the East, the Soviets have answered tit for tat.

They received unexpected help last week from the International Indian Treaty Council, an outgrowth of the American Indian Movement. The IITC sent a representative to Belgrade who charged the U.S. with violations of the Helsinki agreement by actively suppressing traditional political, economic, and social tribal practices and "deliberately inflicting on the group conditions calculated to bring about its physical destruction."

But a credit/deficit accounting of human rights violations by either side shifts the discussion away from international cooperation and undermines the structure of detente. Curiously, those most affected by a weakening of detente between the U.S. and the USSR are the European countries caught in the middle.

Continued on page 10.

Judge acquits Panther killers

"The FBI intended to destroy the Panthers and Fred Hampton... Ballistics evidence tells us it was a slaughter."

By David Moberg
Staff Writer

When the bloody, bullet-riddled bodies of Black Panther party leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark were carried out of their westside Chicago apartment early in the morning of December 4, 1969, another more protracted battle began in the courts as Panther supporters tried to fix the blame and punish police raiders who had fired around 90 bullets that day to the Panthers' one.

Another chapter in the saga came to a close June 20 when U.S. District Court Judge Joseph Sam Perry entered an unusual directed verdict of acquittal after a six-person civil jury reported that they were deadlocked four to two in favor of the police defendants. Survivors of the raid and relatives had sought actual and punitive damages of \$47.7 million against 29 defendants, including members of the FBI and former state's attorney Edward Hanrahan. All but seven of the defendants, however, had already been severed from the case by the judge.

Although the trial lasted an incredible 76 weeks, it was not entirely over. Immediately the lawyers for the Panthers filed an appeal, citing numerous rulings by the aged and often hostile judge as erroneous and prejudicial. They may also be forced to go on their own defense. Several contempt citations hang over the heads of Jeffrey Haas and G. Flint Taylor, two attorneys for the Panthers.

Also, the judge indicated that he will assess the plaintiffs for the costs, possibly totaling over \$2 million, although the city and county have already provided the defense funds for the police and Hanrahan.

"That's like saying not only do I find against you but you don't even have a case," Haas said of Perry's directed verdict and assessment of costs. "That's another vengeful thing, but it also discourages people from filing civil rights cases."

In the current civil suit, the most recent of a long series of court actions in



"The judge was part of the cover-up," Panther attorney Jeffrey Haas charged at the end of the 76-week, \$47.7 million civil suit. Concealed government files, hostile rulings and prohibited evidence hurt the case against the police, FBI and city officials.

the wake of the raid, the defendants were charged with depriving Hampton and Clark of their civil rights.

Perry was obviously unsympathetic to the plaintiffs throughout the trial. Witnesses claimed that Perry, before the trial, had said that the alleged conspiracy would never be proved. For months he refused to show the Panther lawyers 50,000 pages of FBI documents that proved crucial to their case.

As the material on the counter-intelligence, or COINTELPRO, strategy of the FBI became public, the plaintiffs were able to show that the FBI had systematically planned the destruction—by any means, including violence—of the Black Panther party.

The assassination of Hampton and Clark, they argued, was engineered by the FBI with the cooperation of Hanrahan, who was building his political career on a tough "law and order" theme.

The plaintiffs established that an FBI informer had provided a map of the apartment where Hampton lived, including details about where he slept. Their pharmacologist witness testified that Hampton's body was so laden with seco-barbital, possibly given him by the undercover agent, that he was unable to get out of the bed where he was slain.

"We discovered a document that showed that internally the FBI was taking

credit for the raid," Haas says, "while publicly they said they had nothing to do with it." Their agent got a \$300 bonus for his work. The FBI involvement had been concealed from the earlier grand jury.

During the week before the raid, Haas says, Hanrahan's assistant for special prosecution talked from five to seven times with the FBI "controller" of the undercover agent. Twice before the raid assistant prosecutor Richard Jalovec and Sgt. Daniel Groth, one of the raiders, contacted Hanrahan himself to approve the plan.

"The strong part of the case was the overwhelming evidence of FBI intent to destroy the Panthers and Fred Hampton as their leader," Haas says. "Ballistics evidence tells us that it was a slaughter, an ambush, an assassination. Then you have the incredible lies, concealment of evidence and manufacturing of evidence after the raid. False statements which attempt to prove innocence are by law evidence of guilt."

"The weakest part of the case was that it's difficult to get white people to accept that Black Panthers have rights and that black liberation fighters should receive damages when they are killed in their beds. Ultimately the defense lawyers had to go to the jury saying you have to support your police whatever they do." Only one of the six jurors was black.

The trial lasted as long as it did, Haas says, because of Perry's refusal to admit exhibits and evidence in pre-trial sessions and because of obstruction of admission of much evidence during the trial. Their appeal cites Perry for an improper verdict.

Many lawyers—as well as editorialists for the Chicago *Sun-Times* and the *Tribune*—felt that a mistrial would have been the appropriate ruling, thus granting a chance for a new trial.

The plaintiffs in their appeal also cite Perry for not admitting crucial evidence, such as testimony that contradicted one police officer's account of his action. Perry also refused to require Groth to name his personal informant. (Haas believes the informant mentioned in the request for a warrant did not exist, thus making the raid illegal.) Haas accuses Judge Perry of unfairly restricting material from the COINTELPRO files that could be used as evidence and for acting toward the plaintiffs in a hostile and prejudicial way.

Haas believes Perry gave his directed verdict because the judge "was so much a part of the cover-up that he would have been found guilty as well.... I feel angry that he twisted the evidence and ruled so badly. But we are now in a very strong position to show the evil that Judge Perry committed at taxpayer expense. They're in a bad position now, not us."

IN THE NATION

NUCLEAR POWER

EPA approves Seabrook plant

In mid-June the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) by approving its proposed cooling system granted a conditional go-ahead to construction of the Seabrook, N.H., nuclear power plant. Construction had been halted last November when a regional EPA administrator ruled that heated water from the cooling system discharging into the ocean would endanger sealife.

Announcing the EPA's latest decision, federal administrator Douglas Costle emphasized that it was not an unqualified endorsement of the highly-controversial plant, but a ruling on narrow legal and technical grounds.

"This decision isn't a go or no-go signal on nuclear power. It isn't a seal of environmental approval on the Seabrook plants," he told reporters.

The Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) must now decide whether construction can resume. Officials of the Public Service Co., the state utility building the plant, claim that the delay is costing \$15 million per month in rising construction expenses.

Meanwhile, public opposition to the Seabrook plant is growing. The May occupation of the construction site—the first time mass civil disobedience had been used against a nuclear facility—riveted national attention on the controversy and transformed it into the focal point for the opponents of nuclear power. Over 1,400 demonstrators were arrested, at a cost of some \$50,000 per day to house and feed them. (ITT, May 10).

In the wake of the action the *Wall Street Journal* reports that Public Service may scrap the project completely. They have invested \$200-300 million so far.

Recent events indicate that the utility faces formidable legal roadblocks to

future construction. The New England Coalition on Nuclear Pollution, a Vermont-based environmental organization, has filed suit to halt further work until a government study evaluates the utility's financial condition and investigates whether New Hampshire requires additional generating facilities.

The Audubon Society of New Hampshire and the Seacoast Anti-Pollution League also hope to stop construction by appealing the EPA's cooling system decision.

The State House of Representatives passed legislation that would forbid the utility to pass on building costs to its customers by raising electricity rates. After the state senate's energy committee recommended the bill for passage, the full Senate rejected it 13-9. (Public Service officials fear that if such a bill ever becomes law, they would not be able to raise enough money to finance the plant.)

Future occupation of the construction site is also possible. The Clamshell Alliance, the New England coalition that organized the May occupation, is now holding area meetings to plan for the future.

Fallout from the Clamshell action, which one observer described as a "watershed event in the direct-action politics of the '70s," is still going on. IN THESE TIMES has compiled a variety of reactions to the occupation and its implications for the future of nuclear power.

"The Clamshell Alliance doesn't really care about clams; it wants to stop nuclear power, period. Being unable to accomplish this through the majoritarian processes by which this nation is normally governed, it will seize any opportunity to do it by other processes."

—*Wall Street Journal* editorial, May 4, 1977



Police take away demonstrator during the May 1 occupation of the Seabrook plant site. Demonstrators are now considering another occupation.

"Seabrook is the signal of a new and extremely important political confrontation. The environmental problems with nuclear power have forced the utilities to pay an economic price that has become unrealistic. What Seabrook represents is that they are now going to have to pay a political price. It shows that they will have to ride roughshod over the political convictions of many people."

—Barry Commoner, author of *The Poverty of Power*

"Our advanced information indicates that [the occupation] is nothing but a cover for terrorist activity.... Once they legally occupy the site, they do not plan to leave alive.... These activists have no hesitancy in placing the higher moral issues as they view them above the Constitution and the laws of our state and nation. This is the destructive doctrine of revolutionaries and communists."

—Governor Meldrim Thomson, based on information from the U.S. Labor party.

"The occupation and prolonged detention had focused international attention on the nuclear issue as perhaps nothing else could have done, and had driven home the point that thousands of citizens were now willing to face arrest and imprisonment in order to call a halt to atomic reactor construction."

—Harvey Wasserman
The Nation, June 18, 1977

"People around the country are watching what happens in Seabrook. The occupation was the most important thing that's happened since the nuclear initiatives last fall. Nuclear power is on such shaky economic grounds already that it doesn't take much to convince a utility not to go nuclear. Seabrook may be one more straw that breaks the backs of a lot of camels because other plants are on the verge of being cancelled for economic reasons."

—Richard Morgan, author of *Nuclear Power: The Bargain We Can't Afford*

WOMEN

Anti-abortion movement makes gains

By Dan Marshall

The anti-abortion, "right-to-life" forces took two steps forward last week in their campaign to deprive women of the right to freely choose whether to terminate a pregnancy.

On June 17 the House of Representatives voted to ban the use of federal funds to pay for abortions in all cases. The amendment, introduced by Rep. Henry Hyde (R-Ill.), was attached to the appropriations bill for the Departments of Labor and Health, Education and Welfare and strengthens a similar provision adopted by Congress last year. A few days later a Senate committee adopted a slightly more liberal version of the abortion ban.

Then on June 21 the Supreme Court ruled that states are not required by federal law or the Constitution to spend Medicaid funds for elective abortions. The six-to-three ruling appears to pave the way for a ban on the use of all federal funds for such abortions.

In a dissenting opinion Justice Thurgood Marshall said that the state regulations upheld by the Court "brutally coerce poor women to bear children whom society will scorn for every day of their lives." He also noted that the regulations "will fall with great disparity upon women of minority races" who are more dependent on public medical care.

These events, a severe setback for the women's movement generally, were greet-

ed with shock and anger by "right-to-choose" forces. "Congress found it easy to vote against the rights of a group of poor, powerless women," said Audrey Rowe Colom, National Chairperson of the National Women's Political Caucus (NWPC). "The vote on the Hyde amendment indicates a total disregard for the lives of women who depend on Medicaid funds for safe legal abortions. The House bowed to the will of a vocal minority."

"The Supreme Court antiabortion decision this morning was a national tragedy forcing poor women into back alleys for their abortions," commented Joseph L. Rauh Jr., president of the Americans for Democratic Action (ADA).

Repeat of last year.

The Hyde amendment revives a bitter controversy that delayed the Labor-HEW bill a year ago. In 1976 the House passed the same provision, but Senate conferees refused to accept it. After months of wrangling and suggested compromises, House-Senate conferees agreed on language that barred federal financing of abortions "except where the life of the mother would be endangered if the fetus were carried to term."

After it was passed by the full Congress, however, the bill never took effect. In October a New York federal judge ruled that it was unconstitutional. Its enforcement

has been enjoined pending appeal.

While the Supreme Court did not rule on the legality of the Hyde amendment in its recent decision, observers believe that its logic applies. "Right-to-life" attorneys have therefore requested that the Supreme Court lift the injunction that has stopped the 1976 amendment from being implemented.

An estimated 300,000 abortions, one-third of all those performed, are paid for with Medicaid funds every year, at a cost of \$45-50 million.

Women's and civil rights organizations argue against the amendment and the court decision on legal, economic and humanitarian grounds.

The provision is clearly discriminatory, they say, and violates the equal protection clauses of the Constitution. Since the purpose of the Labor-HEW bill is the equalization of health and education services, the prohibition of a particular service, in this case abortion, which is available to higher income people, is a direct denial of such equalization.

In addition, by refusing to allow Medicaid to pay for abortions performed on poor women, the government is placing itself in a position of countenancing abortions for those who can pay, but denying it to those who cannot.

Costs will be staggering.

The costs, in both health and economic

terms, of denying poor women access to abortions would be staggering, the "right-to-choose" forces also point out. An HEW impact statement concluded that if Medicaid funds were not available for abortions, taxpayers would pay an estimated \$450-565 million per year for medical care and public assistance in the first year of birth alone.

Dr. Louis Hellman, former Health Services Administrator at HEW, says that illegal abortion has "virtually disappeared along with the deaths attributed to it since the 1973 Supreme Court decision established the right of a woman to choose, in consultation with her physician, whether to terminate a pregnancy."

"In 1960 there were about 250 known deaths from illegal abortion," he said during a Washington D.C. news conference. "In 1975, the Center for Disease Control in Atlanta was able to identify only five nationwide. In the same year, there were 27 deaths from legal abortions for a rate of 2.6 per hundred thousand." He pointed out that the comparable death rate from childbirth was 12.6 per hundred thousand.

The "right-to-life" forces, on the other hand, are united in their belief that abortion is morally wrong and that taxpayer money should not be spent on it. Their supporters this year included President Carter and HEW Secretary Joseph Califano.

NATIVE AMERICANS

Two tribes sue for Maine

By Judy MacLean
Staff Writer

If a negotiated settlement is not reached by July 1, and if Congress does not act to prevent it, the federal government will sue several large Maine landowners and the state of Maine for 10 million acres of land and millions of dollars in behalf of the Passamaquoddy and Penobscot Indian tribes. "They will have no choice," says Tom Love, lawyer for the two tribes.

While much of the state men's seizure of Native American land has been questionable, court of it was in accord with American law. The tribes' suit is based on an historic claim that the government did not obey the law in taking away their land. Its outcome will affect about 10 similar claims in other states.

It all began in 1887 when Congress passed the Indian Non-Interference Act, prohibiting land being taken from Native Americans without the approval of Congress. Chief George Washington at the time, "I have, from a long study for the remainder of your lands. No state or person can purchase your lands, unless at some public treaty held under the authority of the United States."

In a 1794 treaty the state of Massachusetts (which then included what is now Maine) took ten million acres in exchange for a 23,000 acre reservation from the Passamaquoddy and Penobscot tribes.

In the ensuing 183 years bits and pieces of the reservation were taken, leaving the Indians about 17,000 acres. Today, most of them live there. Most are seasonal agricultural workers with a high rate of unemployment, low life expectancy and high incidence of disease. "The poorest people in New England," says Akwesasne Notes, a Native American newspaper.

In 1957 an old Passamaquoddy woman found the 1794 treaty and the tribes tried to find a way to get back the missing land from the 23,000 acres originally guaranteed. It took ten years to get a lawyer, and the suit was treated as a joke.

Then attorney Tom Tureen discovered that the 1794 treaty itself was invalid; Congress had never ratified it. The tribes thus had a legal claim to roughly half the state of Maine.

When the tribes decided to sue for the 10 million acres, the suit became a bigger joke. They won the first legal skirmish, however, when a federal judge ruled in 1975 that the American government, as the Indians' legal trustee, must file suit on their behalf. (The tribes would have had a hard time, legally and financially, suing on their own.) No one is laughing now.

The suit demands the return of the 10 million acres and millions of dollars in trespass damages for the 187 years of illegal occupation.

Although most of the land in question is owned by 10 out-of-state corporate landlords, mostly paper companies, about 350,000 people also live on it. The state government is creating a climate of panic with dark warnings of 350,000 innocent people being ejected from their homes. For a year cities and towns in the area have been unable to sell bonds. The suit could take five to ten years to settle in court. The state government warns it will lead to fiscal disaster for Maine and to anti-Indian violence.

However, the tribes have repeatedly said they don't want small farmers' or homeowners' houses and land. "We want large landowners, the ones whose only interest in this state is making bucks. The small landowners can stay where they are, pay their taxes to the town and get their public services. We don't want their land. We don't want anybody's home," says Tom Love, a Penobscot.

Congress may also enter the case. The Maine congressional delegation, including one-time presidential candidate Edmund Muskie, has introduced a bill that would retroactively validate all treaties Congress has not approved.

"We have played according to the rules of the country that obviously occupies us and we have won a lot of the technical battles we needed to win," says Wayne Newell, a Passamaquoddy. "If Congress is going to change the rules of the game now that the Indian has been winning, dammit, be truthful. Teach the children the government doesn't really mean it for everybody."

Although changing the rules is within Congress' power, lawyer Tureen argues that the trespass claims would still hold. If that is true, huge trespass settlements might yield some land if the owners were unable to come up with cash.

Congress could also invalidate land

claims but vote the tribes some token financial compensation. Or it could, as it did in the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971, award both land and money to the tribes. The government would have to buy corporate land holdings by eminent domain to do this.

Meanwhile negotiations continue in Washington. Reportedly, the two sides are far from agreement. Archibald Cox, former special Watergate prosecutor and victim of Nixon's "Saturday Night Massacre," is arguing the tribes' side. Ironically, the lawyer for the state of Maine is Edward Bennet Williams, who also owns the Washington "Redskins."

Maine would like to settle for the fed-

The state government is creating a climate of panic with warnings of evictions, fiscal disaster and anti-Indian violence.

eral government paying the tribes a sum of money. Although the tribes have little chance of getting the entire 10 million acres, they insist they will hold out for land, not money.

"You see, money will go away. The land base will guarantee the right of my people to live as they so choose for all time. It would guarantee my children, grandchildren, something to hold on to, to develop as they see fit," says Wayne Newell.



Despite the fact that all the evidence was mysteriously destroyed, AIM activist Sidney Welsh was still convicted by a California jury of illegal possession of explosives.

Conviction without evidence for activist

By Steve Most

Sidney Welsh was on the way to San Francisco after celebrating the New Year, 1976, on his Arizona reservation. He stopped in Indio, Calif., leaving his companions, a cousin and a friend, in the car while he went to a hotel to get some sleep. At 2 a.m. Welsh, unable to rest, returned to the street. Two police were searching his Vega; his companions were under arrest.

The Mohave, a stocky man active in the American Indian Movement, identified himself. "So you're Sidney Welsh," said the police. They had his photograph.

At the Indio jail Welsh was charged with possession of dynamite caps that the police claimed they found inside his car. "How's Russell Means," asked one jailer. "Where is Dennis Banks?"

On New Year's Day, 1976, when he was visiting friends on the reservation, the BIA building there had received a bomb threat. No one was ever charged for this incident and two other bomb threats occurred in Parker the next day when Welsh was in jail, but the prosecutor at his trial claimed that Welsh had planted the seven sticks of dynamite found in the BIA building.

By a "mishap," neither the dynamite bomb found in Parker nor the two blasting caps police allegedly discovered in Welsh's car were entered as evidence in the trial. According to Deputy District Attorney Wally T. Clark, they had accidentally been destroyed at the Twenty-nine Palms Marine Corps base. The evidence had not even been photographed or tested for fingerprints before demolition.

Despite the absence of evidence, FBI and police testimony convinced the jury Welsh had "recklessly or maliciously"

been in possession of explosive devices. Found guilty, Welsh received the mandatory five-to-life sentence.

Welsh recalls a conversation in the judge's chambers shortly before sentencing. "The judge told the D.A., 'These are awful heavy charges to bring against one man.' The D.A. looked away and said, 'The FBI seems to think this is a very important case.'"

Welsh's road to the Indio lockup began in Parker, Ariz., 33 years ago. On Parker, as on many reservations, all but a small fraction of the land allotted to Indians is leased to others—with most of the lease money going to Washington, D.C. There is a Bureau of Indian Affairs office in town, but federal programs have not alleviated the suffering due to poverty, cultural deprivation, alcoholism and suicide.

As a boy Welsh picked cotton in fields leased by white farmers, rising at 5 a.m. to earn 30 cents an hour. "The shocking part of it was I realized it was our own land."

Welsh went to a reservation school, then a reform school. He drifted into the life of an alcoholic, travelling from skid row to skid row in cities along the West Coast with frequent stops in jail. Welsh describes these years in bars and behind bars as crucial to his development.

"Through drinking I got to know Indian people of all tribes," he said. "I found more similarities than I expected among the Indian people." In jail Welsh had time to read and think. He had felt that he had a problem, something he had to take care of, "until finally realizing that Indian people were never a problem, the problem was on the part of the police, on the part of the system. I took a good look at it and decided to do something

about it, not to fall into that trap any more."

At this point Welsh became interested in the American Indian Movement. He read news stories about Dennis Banks and Russell Means. "I understood that we had a lot in common.... Once you learn," said Welsh, "you can't sit back. You have to do something. AIM is doing something for our Indian people."

In 1969 Welsh took part in the occupation of Alcatraz. He was impressed by this example of many tribes banding together for a common purpose. In 1974 he co-founded the San Francisco AIM chapter.

Welsh believes he was first noticed by FBI agents during the food giveaway the SLA demanded as a condition for freeing Patricia Hearst. "We didn't agree with the tactics of the SLA, but people needed to be fed." His involvement in distributing food for the People in Need project made him publicly known as a San Francisco AIM organizer. (Later, in jail, an FBI interrogator told him he was considered the director of Northern California AIM.)

Welsh was preparing to teach a Native American Studies course at San Francisco State when he went south to Parker for the winter holidays. He never taught that course.

Welsh has been granted a second trial on technical grounds. Judge Slaughter had neglected to instruct the jury that the defendant could be convicted of a lesser charge: unlawful possession of explosives.

Welsh and Jeff Kupers, his legal adviser, intend to use the new trial to document FBI persecution of American Indian Movement activists.

Steve Most is a freelance writer based in California.

LABOR

Steel ferment bubbles on

By David Moberg

It's been hectic in the Steelworkers union over the past half year. There was the hot contest between Lloyd McBride and Ed Sadlowski for union president, then a major settlement of a national steel contract that was almost rejected. The controversies in the union refuse to die, however, despite the apparent resolution of the election and negotiations.

After the international union rejected Sadlowski's charges of fraud in the election, the way was clear for McBride to assume office on June 1. In his inaugural speech McBride took potshots at political groups trying to "convince a new generation of Steelworkers to engage in 'class struggle'" and the internal union dissidents and outside "professional meddlers" of the Sadlowski camp.

The union had "adequate democratic procedures" for members to "register legitimate concerns." Also, "there is an old saying that shoemakers should stick to their lasts," McBride said, "and this is a most appropriate occasion to repeat it."

McBride and the Steelworker leadership didn't stick to their lasts very long. They actively intervened, contributing as much as \$5,000 by one estimate, in support of Lee Roy Patterson for president of the United Mine Workers. That effort on behalf of the corrupt old Tony Boyle machine within the union backfired.

Patterson lost, partly because many miners feared he would merge their union with the Steelworkers, whose leaders seem to disapprove of coal strikes disrupting steel mill work.

Sadlowski decided to give internal democratic procedures an assist by asking the Labor department, on June 17, to investigate a long list of charges of unfair electioneering by McBride supporters. In the largest probe of a union election ever, the 250 Labor department investigators began their two-month inquiry immediately.

New contract protested.

The national contract in steel, which set the basic pattern also adopted in aluminum, has drawn its own share of protests. The Pittsburgh local at the U.S. Steel Clairton Works was one of several local unions that voted to take outgoing president I.W. Abel's picture off the wall of the union hall. Several locals asked for a special convention to review the contract. Presidents of all of the Youngstown Sheet and Tube locals refused to sign the national agreement when they met to discuss on-going local talks.

"All the locals banded together and decided they weren't going to sign," Norm Purdue, president of Local 1011 in East Chicago, Ind., said. "We felt we'd have more power on the local issues if we didn't sign. We wanted to let people know we're not contented with the contract. The company was stirred up. They threatened we wouldn't get our raise. I don't think it made the international happy either."

New international vice-president Joe Odorcich blames "kooks" and leftists for the contract discontent. Soon he may be in court on charges that his anger with such dissidents got the best of him.

On May 22 Steelworkers Stand Up, a rank-and-file group at the Clairton Works that started when women in the mills demanded better washrooms and expanded during the Sadlowski campaign, arrived on the grounds of the newly purchased Linden Hall, a union recreational and educational center. They had reserved a spot for a picnic.

According to eye-witness Candace Cohn, four carloads of union members were met by nearly 50 men, including Od-

orcich, who told them, "Get the hell out of here. You don't have a right to be here. This is private property. We don't want any protesting here."

Not wanting to press their luck, the picnickers moved on to another spot and started to unpack their lunch. Then "Odorcich picked up some rocks and threw them at a car." The men, women and children split, but two stayed to get back their deposit for the grounds. One was roughed up and the other had the film taken out of her camera, according to Cohn.

The group charged Odorcich in court with four illegal acts and also filed internal union complaints. "We paid for the grounds," said Cohn, still angry. "Then we paid the salaries of the guys who kept us from using it."

Local strike votes.

Although the Steelworkers' Experimental Negotiating Agreement prohibits national strikes, local unions can strike on some issues. In 1974 only seven locals took strike votes and none went out. This year 55 to 100 locals are voting, including all the iron ore miners from northern Michigan to the Great Plains. They had also voted against the national contract, which did not bring their wages and benefits up to parity with workers in the steel mills.

Several big basic steel locals have been urging their members to authorize strikes by the June 30 deadline for voting. Any strikes will come after the August 1 expiration of the contract.

Frank Guzzo, president of the South Chicago Republic Steel local, told as many of the 4,800 members of his local as possible that "it's either you back your union or you back the company. The propaganda the company is using right now—in Serbian, Spanish and English—says if they vote for the union their jobs are at stake, there will be mass layoffs. But this company will give us nothing unless we go to them and say, 'This is it or else.'"

At Inland Steel's 18,000-member local in East Chicago, Ind., union vice-president Cliff "Cowboy" Mezo said that foremen pulled aside individual workers to ask them to explain their "Vote Yes (for a strike)" buttons.

The company launched a big ad campaign and bused in workers to vote, including a reported 1,800 summer employees, mostly relatives of management. An amazing 14,600 people—nearly everyone not on leave or vacation—on June 21 ap-

proved a strike if needed by a margin of about 1,000. There hasn't been a strike in Steel since 1959.

Some of the hottest issues in the mills are the incentive plans. Most but not all millworkers have a base rate of pay plus an incentive payment for reaching certain levels of production. It's like a combination of hourly pay and piece rate except that the percentage bonus—ranging from 12 percent to 35 percent maximum in different categories—is figured for broad groups, not individuals.

By changing work methods or products, the mill managers have often made it difficult for workers to earn their incentive. For example, in a rolling mill a worker's incentive was based on the number of large steel coils that could be tied up with steel bands, but the coils recently were made two to four times as large, effectively eliminating the chance of earning the incentive.

At nearly every steel mill where a strike looms, the local unions are pressing to raise the "low yield incentives" and redress inequities between departments.

Subcontracting, largely avoided in the national contract, is a hot item as well. John Barbero, vice-president of the union at the Youngstown Briar Hill factory, said the company not only subcontracted occasional work by outside skilled tradespeople but also contracted out entire operations, such as slag removal from the open hearth, on a permanent basis. If a contractor underbids the cost of Steelworker members, Barbero said, the work goes to the low bidder, eliminating higher-paid steel union jobs.

Nearly everywhere locals are pressing for the company to pay for the essential safety shoes, pants and gloves, but Barbero is also concerned about company harassment of doctors who excuse sick workers. Dozens of other complaints, from dirty restrooms and inadequate lunch facilities to rutted parking lots and scheduling snafus, are also on the agenda.

Some locals are arguing for more relief time for coke plant workers who are exposed to carcinogenic fumes and intense heat, for an end to forced overtime, and for revisions in the grievance procedure to treat workers as innocent until proven guilty.

Preliminary votes show workers approving the strike authorizations in mas-

sive turnouts, but often by narrow margins. In a few cases the local leadership didn't match the intense company campaigns of persuasion. A strike was authorized by only 31 votes last week at the Youngstown Sheet and Tube mill in East Chicago but more decisively at the Republic local.

Besides members' fears of losses from a long strike and company intimidation, there is the problem that local issues are often strongly felt by disparate groups but not shared across the board.

"The guys ask, 'Why should I strike for that man in the crane to get the air-conditioning? Why should a man without a car vote for a strike to get the parking lot paved? Why should I vote for the man in the coke plant on the north end to get more relief when I work on the south end?'" veteran Republic steelworker Al Ostrowski explained.

Although few of the strike authorizations will end in strikes, Clem Balanoff, an organizer of Steelworkers Fight Back, sees the votes themselves as a victory of the Sadlowski campaign.

"We won the ability to make people look seriously at the contract," he said. "We at long last gave steelworkers the right to vote. We introduced a lot of new ideas to people."

While the organization tries to pay off the remaining \$90,000 debt from the campaign, they're waiting to see how the new voices in the leadership speak. Balanoff even had brotherly words for McBride and some of his ideas, such as the guarantee of innocence until proven guilty.

"If McBride were to go out and fight for that tomorrow," he said, "I'd have everybody I could behind him. We're not just fighting to fight. We want the same thing he wants—a good union. We just differ on some things, like ratification by members. Give the man a chance. We don't want to chop his hands off."

Such graciousness isn't extended to Sadlowski by the mill magnates. When the student bar association of the Chicago Kent College of Law, affiliated with the Illinois Institute of Technology, gave Sadlowski its Liberty Bell award for "distinguished service in the cause of justice," two Inland Steel executives on the ITT board of directors protested and threatened to resign. Class struggle, anyone?



Ballot disputes still haunt Steelworkers as Lloyd McBride takes office, locals vote strike approvals.

Rich Stromberg

Cautious growth of Stevens' boycott

By Dan Marschall
Staff Writer

What is it like to work for J.P. Stevens, the second largest textile company in the United States? "It's like being on the chain gang...except no guns. Just pressure. Pressure all the time," says Mildren Whitley, a Stevens' worker in Roanoke Rapids, N.C.

After 26 years at Stevens Whitley had a radical mastectomy and asked to be placed on a lighter job. "My supervisor told me that I could go ask the welfare for help. He informed me that I could either run the job no matter what it did to me, I could quit, or else he would fire me," she says. "All they want is your blood and then they let you go."

Whitley's story is not unique. She and other Stevens' employees describe company practices in *Testimony: Justice vs. J.P. Stevens*, a 22-minute color film produced by the Citizen's Committee for Justice for J.P. Stevens Workers. It is currently touring the country as part of a nationwide consumer boycott of Stevens' products. (ITT, Nov. 29, 1976.)

Testimony is a moving, personalized documentary about the shocking working conditions in Stevens' facilities and the determination of its workers—young and old, black and white—to unionize. Designed as an educational/organizing resource for the boycott, the film is mainly set in Roanoke Rapids, where 3,500 workers voted in 1974 for representation by the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers union (ACTWU).

Individual testimonies.

The backbone of the film is the individual testimonials of Stevens' workers about safety conditions, racial discrimination, the health hazards of cotton dust and the attempts by Stevens to defeat the union with a barrage of often-illegal tactics.

Maurine Hedgepeth, a Stevens worker with three children, testifies about being illegally fired for "talkin' union." She began work in the mills in 1957. After appearing before the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) in 1964, she went on pregnancy leave. "On Christmas Eve they fired my husband, after him bein' a loom fixer for 25 years," she explains. "In January, when my leave was up, they wouldn't give me my job back. They told us if any of us was goin' to get any work we would have to leave town to do it, because nobody would hire us."

"Stevens doesn't just fire you. They fire your whole family. It took four years and 21 days before I got my job back. I had to go all the way up through the courts."

Through a string of interviews the film successfully conveys the "raw courage" and "bravery" shown by Stevens workers. (After three years of negotiations the company refuses to agree to a contract in Roanoke Rapids.)

It emphasizes the unity of interests between black and white workers. In one scene a cluster of workers talk about company efforts to foster racial antagonisms. "Before the election they tried to pit the blacks against the whites and the whites against the blacks anyway they could," says a white woman. "But they were just trying to get the white people not to join the union. It didn't work."

Cautious tactics.

The film also reflects the boycott's cautious tactics and reliance on moral persuasion to convince people not to buy Stevens' goods. It highlights respected community leaders—clergymen, a college professor, attorneys—discussing blacklisting, the impact of low unionization on Southern living conditions and other issues. The union maintains a low profile throughout, since the conflict is portrayed as a "struggle for justice," a fight for basic American rights rather than a labor/management confrontation.



The boycott is unfolding in several stages. The first, to establish the boycott's legitimacy, is now underway.

While the union authorized the boycott a year ago, it has only gotten rolling in the last six months. It is part of a 10-year, well financed campaign to pressure J.P. Stevens, which the union sees as key to organizing the textile industry and eventually the entire South. The union has hired 40 full-time organizers, opened offices in 27 cities, and intends to pour \$1.5 million per year into the campaign. Funds have also been donated by the AFL-CIO, the United Auto Workers and the Teamsters.

Only stage one.

The boycott is unfolding in several stages. The first phase, which is apparently intended to establish its legitimacy, is primarily educational. This includes sporadic leafletting in large cities, the formation of big-name citizen's committees, wide distribution of the film, support statements from other unions and civil rights groups, and legal suits.

The boycott's field staff is clearly subordinate to the union's administration. All activities are cleared through the ACTWU's legal department, which has cautiously interpreted recent NLRB and Supreme Court rulings concerning secondary boycotts. Union lawyers have instructed staffers to do their leafletting of retail stores more than a block away, for example.

"There is some frustration about having to filter everything through the legal offices," comments Mike Schippani, New England boycott director. "But Stevens is a powerful multinational corporation. They're watching very closely for any mistakes the union makes. And they're ready to jump down our throats with law suits."

Schippani speculates that the NLRB will become more receptive to union arguments as it is inundated by legal complaints against Stevens. In April the ACTWU filed four new charges of illegal activities and requested a "corporate-wide

remedy" that could consist of the company being forced to recognize the union at all of its 85 plants.

The union has slated six areas—Boston, Philadelphia, Detroit, Indianapolis, Pittsburgh and upstate New York—for "advanced activity," including major newspaper ads and visits to department stores by noted community leaders.

More creative activities.

There are pressures for more creative mass activities at various levels of the campaign. Campus organizing, largely modeled on the anti-war movement, has included teach-ins, demonstrations and pressure on university administrators to cut institutional ties with Stevens.

Campus support groups have organized demonstrations at Princeton, Dickinson and Stanford universities. At Stanford, which owns 3,000 shares of Stevens stock, students gathered 1,600 signatures on a petition demanding that the university vote for proposals to impel Stevens to release information on equal employment and labor policies. When university representatives decided to abstain from one vote, 50 protesters occupied the administration building for several hours.

In Detroit demonstrators leafletted inside a department store during an appearance by Suzanne Pleshette, an actress on the *Bob Newhart Show*. Pleshette has toured the country for Stevens after the company agreed to market her specially-designed line of bed linens. After the Detroit action she cancelled appearances in several cities and has reportedly decided to drop the promotional efforts altogether.

The union is also pressuring financial institutions that deal with and support Stevens. In April boycott supporters infiltrated the annual meeting of the Manufacturers Hanover Corp. and argued that James D. Finley, Stevens' chairman, should not be a member of Manufacturers' board of directors. "People like Mr. Finley have no place on our board," com-

mented one executive, referring to the company's embarrassing labor record.

J.P. Stevens Workers Day.

In Boston boycott organizers anticipate demonstrations or other mass activities in the fall. They have designed boycott T-shirts and may organize contingents of supporters to ramble through retail stores to dramatize the campaign.

In April the Boston City Council declared a "J.P. Stevens Workers Day" that featured a luncheon of local notables, a meeting with the governor, and a large rally with music, theater and a screening of *Testimony*.

Despite the gradual pickup in the boycott, some supporters remain disappointed with the union's reluctance to mobilize the rank and file. "Morale is pretty low right now," complains a staff person. "Among full-time field staff, there seems to be a sense of drift, a lack of support for bold activities and little strategic thinking."

The union will apparently push to organize other Stevens plants in the fall, after the boycott is in full swing. They have authorization cards for elections in three Southern Stevens plants. About 26 organizers are already in place around the country.

The boycott has already brought together an impressive array of progressive organizations: labor unions, church groups, civil rights organizations, students and community groups.

"And so a long, grinding battle is now under way," concludes *Testimony*. "It is too late for us that're sick," says Lucy Taylor, a victim of brown lung disease from breathing cotton dust. "But for the people working in the plants, and for our children and grandchildren that're coming on after us, we ask to help us. Boycott J.P. Stevens."

Copies of *Testimony* are available from Harriet Teller, ACTWU, 15 Union Square, New York, NY 10003.

TENANTS

Giving public tenants a voice

The Massachusetts Union now represents nearly 85 percent of the public housing tenants in the state.

By John McDonough
One important reason for poor conditions in the nation's public housing projects is the lack of effective political organization among public housing tenants. Rarely registered, and less frequently organized to lobby for their interests, project tenants faced cutbacks and threats of dissolution during the Republican administration with scarcely a whimper.

In Massachusetts a statewide advocacy organization for public housing tenants is making strides in combatting this inactivity and may present a model for tenants in other states to follow. The Massachusetts Union of Public Housing Tenants, founded in 1971 and now representing nearly 85 percent of public housing tenants in Massachusetts through 55 affiliates, has helped local groups to negotiate with their housing authorities and has presented a unified tenants' voice in dealing with state and federal regulatory agencies.

Some of Massachusetts Union's most successful work has been on the local level where the Union's staff workers, who are themselves public housing tenants, have provided the technical expertise to help tenants create effective organization.

One year ago in Springfield a group of tenants asked the Union for help in reviving their long-dormant city-wide tenants organization. The Union met with tenants, ran a series of workshops on the workings of public housing, and helped to develop a funding proposal for staff and office space under the Massachusetts Department of Public Welfare's Title XX Program.

"Tenants must have their own paid staff if they are ever to act as equals with housing authorities," says Massachusetts Union director John Keane. "Volunteers and a few die-hards aren't enough to keep pressure on authorities to respond to tenants." The Springfield group received funding and is now one of the more active and effective groups in the state.

In the North Shore town of Ipswich, the Massachusetts Union faced a different situation. There the Housing Authority had appointed three persons to be representatives for all tenants. When some other tenants asked the Union for help with a rent problem, discussions soon turned to the lack of any elected tenants group. After an election was held, the Housing Authority refused to recognize the elected group. The Massachusetts Union was able to pressure the state Department of Community Affairs, the regulatory agency for state-aided public housing, to force the Ipswich Authority to recognize the elected tenants organization.

Local efforts such as these have been repeated all across the state. In Cambridge the Union helped a local tenants group to delineate the role of a community board in the dispersal of federal funds. And in Quincy Union staffers organized tenants to attend a hearing on the appointment of a tenant to the local housing authority board of commissioners.

State-wide action.

The Union's most significant achievements have been at the state level. Massachusetts is one of the few states in the country that built its own public housing for low income families. The 30,000 units built under the state program since its inception in 1949 as housing for returning veterans equals the number of units built in Massachusetts under the federal public housing program.

DCA recognizes the Massachusetts Union as the bargaining agent for public

housing tenants in Massachusetts. The Union drew up a model lease for housing authorities in 1973 and convinced DCA to pressure housing authorities that refused to adopt this lease with cutbacks in funding. Last June the state legislature passed a \$50 million bonding authorization for modernization of public housing; local authorities that have not adopted the model lease are ineligible to receive these funds as a direct result of Union lobbying efforts.

The Union has also been successful in stopping efforts to turn back the clock on public housing. In fall 1975 newly appointed DCA Secretary William Flynn tried to water down department policies on enforcement of lease and grievance procedures, tenant participation, eligibility for housing and the amount of income tenants were required to pay in rent. Union activists coordinated a strong public outcry, bringing out over 1,000 persons to a public hearing, and eventually forcing the withdrawal of the proposed revisions.

More recently, the union has convinced DCA and the local office of the Department of Housing and Urban Development, which regulates the federal programs of housing authorities, to issue a joint policy statement to the effect that one lease may be used for both state and federal projects. Some housing authorities have used the two programs as a way to split tenants groups within individual cities.

National influence.

The Union's influence with HUD has been less extensive, says Keane, "because the Nixon/Ford people were not exactly re-



John Lincoln Durand, former president of Massachusetts Union and present field organizer, addresses a recent convention of the union.

ceptive to what we were doing." "The handles on HUD have always been extremely weak," says Jack Plunkett, founder and first director of Massachusetts Union.

Can the Massachusetts Union model be duplicated? No other state has as much state-built public housing as Massachusetts; and DCA, while often recalcitrant, can at least be pressured on a state-wide level. HUD is more complex and difficult to pressure for change.

Nevertheless, both Keane and Plunkett see value in the establishment of other state tenant organizations across the country. Pressure can be exerted on HUD Area

Offices to assume a more active role and to promulgate and enforce new lease agreements between housing authorities and tenants. New state-wide groups could also be effective in applying pressure on HUD in Washington D.C. in concert with other state groups.

Keane is adamant that tenants must unite in order to affect their living conditions. "The more tenants are organized," he says, "the better off they are. Organization brings more exchange of information, solidarity and the ability to act as a single voice for all tenants."

John McDonough is a Boston-based freelance writer.

CITIES

Forcing the rich to pay up

By Sidney Blumenthal
BOSTON—Tax rebellion has a long tradition here. Residents of the city once donned Indian garb and dumped tea into the harbor to protest King George's levies. Now Massachusetts Fair Share, a working-class citizen action group, is campaigning against property tax delinquents here with some notable success.

After a legal battle Fair Share forced Boston's city treasurer to release the names of delinquent tax-payers. The list reads like a guide to Boston's power elite.

Deputy Mayor Kathy Kane was in arrears for \$6,700 on her Beacon Hill townhouse; her job is to find ways for the city to collect unpaid taxes. Patty Hearst's high-powered attorney, F. Lee Bailey, owed a substantial amount, which he says he won't pay because he is contesting it.

Other tax delinquents included top officers of multinational corporations, slum landlords, Mafia bosses, the owner of the city's taxi fleet, city officials, airlines and insurance companies.

In total, about \$107 million was owed; some of the delinquencies date back 40 years.

To get the list revealed publicly Fair Share obtained an unprecedented ruling from the Massachusetts Secretary of State's office when the group had first asked Boston treasurer James Young for the list he appeared eager to have it pub-

Tax delinquents included a deputy mayor, F. Lee Bailey, corporate leaders, Mafia bosses and other Boston bigwigs.

lished, but had said, "We haven't found a way to do it."

On May 10, the Secretary of State's office issued its decision, which could conceivably lead to similar actions and rulings around the country. Young was then obliged to hand over the names of tardy taxpayers.

The *Boston Globe*, the leading New England daily newspaper, featured the delinquents on its front page for days. Conjecture about who might be exposed in the next day's edition of the paper became a favorite form of higher gossip around town.

Embarrassment on the part of some delinquents was keen. Deputy mayor Kane, for example, promptly paid up what she owed the day after her name appeared in the newspaper.

Fair Share, for its part, has sent to prominent delinquents what the group has labeled "Citizens' Tax Bills." The "Bills" read in part: "The homeowners and tenants of Boston's neighborhoods are shouldering the burden of the taxes you are not paying, and the community schools program and other city programs

are being cut because the city does not have the revenue to pay for them."

Delinquents are notified to have their money into the treasurer's office by a certain date or "we will be forced to consider you deliberately delinquent and will pursue any further actions that may be necessary until you pay the taxes."

Particularly egregious tax-delinquents were placed on Fair Share's "Dirty Dozen" list. These delinquents were the targets of marches organized by the group. Such tactics have sometimes had surprisingly positive results. The New England Mutual Life Insurance Co., for example, which owed the city \$110,852, paid up the day before the noon deadline set for them by Fair Share expired. Fear of mass picketing apparently turned the trick.

Demonstrators also flocked to Boston's Logan Airport to picket the airlines, which owe \$9.3 million in back taxes.

Fair Share community leaders have made a point of stressing the connection between unpaid taxes and city cutbacks. Mayor Kevin White has announced recently that he will terminate the Little City Hall operation in the neighborhoods and after-school program because of budgetary problems. The airlines' payment of their taxes alone would account for enough money to pay for these popular service programs.

Sidney Blumenthal writes for Boston's *Real Paper*.

IN THE WORLD

Arabs secretly happy with Likud win

By T.D. Allman
Pacific News Service

UNITED NATIONS—Despite their governments' public outcries over the election of the right-wing Likud government in Israel, some Arab diplomats here privately agree that those results have afforded them major new diplomatic opportunities. "We're absolutely delighted with the new Israeli government," says a member of the UN delegation of one of the "Rejectionist Front" countries, which oppose negotiations with Israel. "Prime minister Begin may inflict defeats on Zionism even Nasser never could."

And despite their stake in a quick Middle East peace settlement, diplomats from highly conservative Arab governments are encouraged as well. They see in the Israeli election an historic opportunity to build a "special relationship" with U.S. at Israel's expense.

"Even here in New York, where everyone loves Israel," the ambassador of one of the oil-producing Gulf states recently remarked, "We're no longer considered the bad guys."

For decades, the conservative Arab regimes, whose prime concern always has been avoiding internal revolution rather than inflicting radical change on Israel, have feared that American support for Israel would eventually drive their countries

"For the first time in 30 years, it is the Israelis, not us, who are seen as the fanatics, as the unreasonable people, as those who are against peace..."

into the arms of the radicals. Now the rulers of countries like Morocco, Jordan and Saudi Arabia are more sure than ever that Washington wants their friendship. They also believe that the Likud victory will widen the gap between the U.S. and Israel that began to emerge with the energy crisis.

This dramatic turn-around was most obvious just after the elections. While Saudi Arabia's Crown Prince Fahd clinked wine glasses at the White House with President Carter in a warm toast to the Arab/American commitment to a Middle East peace, Israel's outgoing foreign minister Yigal Allon was summoning Samuel Lewis, American ambassador to Israel, to complain about Carter's call for a Palestinian homeland in Israeli-occupied territory.

A common front.

The "Rejectionist Front," led by Libya and Iraq, has been active in attempting to exploit the openings created by the Israeli swing to the right. The Iraqi and Libyans, as well as the PLO and the left within the conservative Arab countries, have long maintained that permanent peace would only be possible when the U.S. ceased arming and financing Israel. The radicals are now saying that the "contradictions" in the U.S./Israel relationship are at last beginning to deprive Israel of its all-important source of war material and money.

Just after the election, Iraq's President Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr, who has always opposed the attempts of Egypt and Syria to negotiate a peaceful settlement with Israel, wrote his fellow Arab heads of state a

surprising conciliatory letter. Unlike in the past, the Iraqi leader did not accuse the others of betraying the Arab cause by forsaking confrontation with Israel. Al-Bakr simply pointed out that, with the Likud victory, the strategy of trying to elicit Israeli moderation with Arab moderation had failed.

Iraq went on to propose that the Arab states now form a common front against Israel. According to UN sources, the Iraqis offered Egypt MIG fighters and spare parts for Egypt's Soviet-made equipment. The Iraqis even offered the hand of friendship to their arch-rival, Syria, offering to reinforce Syrian troops along the cease-fire line with Israel.

New Soviet changes.

The Likud victory also has given the Soviet Union new opportunities in the Middle East, where their influence has been low ever since Egypt's President Sadat expelled Soviet advisers in 1972 and began courting the Nixon administration. After the Israeli elections, Egypt quickly moved to warm up its frosty relations with Moscow by dispatching President Sadat's foreign minister, Ismail Fahmy, to confer with Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko.

President Hafez Assad of Syria, how-

Continued on page 10.

Latin America in the '70s The Generals

US multinationals need permanent dictatorships

Part II

In Latin America, the U.S. is going to block any independent initiative.

by James F. Petras
During the '70s, revolutionary regimes have taken power in several Asian and African countries; and throughout Asia and Africa, solidarity against the uncontrolled expansion of Western multinational corporations has been of prime concern.

But in Latin America, the U.S. has consolidated its hold and has tried to block any path toward independent development. Throughout the '70s, the U.S. helped bring about rightwing coups in Chile, Bolivia, Argentina and Peru. And it encouraged these countries to develop an economic system (the so-called "free-market") and a type of political regime to fit the needs of American multinational corporations.

U.S. multinationals.

During the last 15 years, American corporations have expanded beyond the mineral or agricultural sectors and encompassed the whole economy of Latin America: industry, services, and banking. When the U.S. limited itself to control of a few sectors of the economy it could draw only specific concessions from the local governments.

It was generally possible to have parliamentary or merely semi-authoritarian rule in the society as a whole, and for the state to perform a progressive role for those parts of society still untouched by foreign capital. If things got out of hand, a "caretaker" military government was installed that served a limited political purpose for

a limited time—a few Communists in jail, then a call for new elections.

But the new economic expansion has required the elimination of political obstacles to foreign capital's expansion throughout the entire society. A comprehensive labor policy, ensuring low wages and no strikes, had to be directed at the working class as a whole—not just at workers employed within the multinational sector.

The "free market" philosophy of Milton Friedman, which would transfer public enterprise back to the private sector, had to supplant state capitalist notions. And to create a climate where long-term large-scale foreign investment could be contemplated, permanent rather than caretaker military governments had to be installed.

Chile as model.

Brazil's dictatorship is already going on 12 years. Chile's Gen. August Pinochet talks of two generations of rule. Chile has been particularly important as a model during the '70s.

The coup had a profound impact on Chile's neighbors and inspired similar measures in Peru, Bolivia and Argentina. The Andean Pact, which united Peru, Colombia, Bolivia, Venezuela, Ecuador, and Chile, was originally established to provide regional markets for national development. But Chile has resisted any checks on multinational investments and profits. Its intransigence led to the deterioration of the Andean Pact.

Its "freemarket" philosophy has also been a model. The "free market" serves to undermine any regional constraints on the activities of multinationals. It inhibits local efforts at expansion, which would have to compete with the multinationals, and Third World attempts to obtain better prices for their commodities.

By limiting state revenue through lowering taxes and returning public enterprises to the private sector, the "free market"



In Brasilia, Brazilian president Ernesto Geisel gives Rosalynn Carter a picture of his family and their dog while meeting at the president's palace on June 7. Geisel's reign as dictator dates from 1974.

model also creates a situation where Latin American countries have had to rely increasingly on external financing for their debts. Chile possesses a debt of over \$5 billion; its debt payments in 1976 accounted for approximately 36 percent of all its export earnings. Brazil's debt is close to \$25 billion.

The growing debt of these and other countries has increased their dependence on the U.S. And it has allowed the U.S. to drive a wedge throughout the Latin region and the Third World. Latin America has become the Trojan horse for U.S. multinationals throughout the Third World.

In the Organization of American States or the United Nations, the U.S. now has the capacity to mobilize majorities to confront independent nationalists. And South America has become a key "reserve army" to lower the costs of investment and raw materials throughout the Third World.

African parallel.

The realization of the U.S. project in Latin America presents a gloomy picture. But if one looks at the Third World in global and historical terms, the situation is not quite so gloomy.

Throughout Latin America, all workers are being reduced to the same low

standard of living. The differences are disappearing between white and blue collar workers, and between workers of different industries. The intermediary groups of civil servants, shop keepers and higher paid clerical workers are being eliminated.

At a political level, the police state has eliminated most of the liberal democratic and social democratic organizations that formerly mediated between the right and the left. In other words, while the U.S. is imposing a common economic strategy, it is creating common contradictions within all the societies and extending the scope and depth of opposition.

For the future, we should keep in mind the parallel processes that occurred in Africa, where military regimes and free markets were dominant in the '50s and '60s. Where are they today? If we looked at Africa in the '60s, we saw Ian Smith declaring independence for Rhodesia, and the Portuguese declaring victory in Angola. Commentators talked about centuries of authoritarianism and dominance.

In Africa today, the situation has turned around. In the next 10 or 20 years, the same may occur in Latin America.

James F. Petras is a professor of sociology at the State University of New York, Binghamton, and author of numerous books and articles on Latin America.

AFRICA

Behind Smith's raids on Mozambique

By Allen Isaacman

During the past year Rhodesian attacks against Mozambique have increased dramatically. The massacre of 600 Zimbabwean (the term Zimbabwe is used by African nationalists when referring to Rhodesia) refugees at Nyazonia in August 1976, the five-pronged invasion of Tete district in November and the 700-man assault in early June on the town of Mapai, only 200 miles from the Mozambican capital, were only the most publicized of the more than 150 Rhodesian attacks reported by the Mozambican government.

Western-manufactured artillery, armored cars, helicopters and jets provide the Rhodesian military with an overwhelming advantage in mobility and firepower over the Mozambican defenders and their Zimbabwean allies—the latter having recently united under the banner of the Patriotic Front. Without a functioning air force, Mozambique remains vulnerable to Rhodesian air attacks. This situation is not expected to improve for another year when the first group of Mozambican jet pilots complete their training.

The Rhodesian decision to escalate the conflict with Mozambique was motivated by the Smith government's deteriorating internal position. Widespread demoralization within the European community has resulted in substantial emigration of settlers, now at a rate of more than 1,500 a month, as well as an outflow of foreign capital. The attacks are calculated to restore European confidence, to appease the right wing of the ruling Rhodesian Front and to demonstrate to opponents of the regime that they are vulnerable even if they flee across the border.

Bring in the "cold war."

The military campaign has immediate strategic objectives as well. The Rhodesian High Command believes that preemptive attacks will enable Rhodesia

With his situation deteriorating, Smith wants to force the West to enter the war on his side as allies.



to capture a large supply of military equipment and inflict substantial losses on Zimbabwean and Mozambican troops. They also assume that high casualties will turn the Mozambican civilian population against continued sanctuary and support for the Zimbabwean guerrillas and, perhaps, in the long run, will even precipitate popular unrest against the Mozambican government. Salisbury has reportedly provided assistance to an opposition party in exile to mount a multifaceted campaign against FRELIMO, Mozambique's ruling party.

The long-term goal of Rhodesian mil-

itary policy is to internationalize the conflict in southern Africa by drawing the Western countries in as allies. This strategy assumed greater urgency after Western intelligence reports confirmed last fall that Zimbabwean liberation forces were seriously jeopardizing the government's military position.

The Smith regime wants to redefine the conflict in "Cold War" terms rather than acknowledge it as a struggle for self-determination and majority rule. Rhodesian propaganda seeks to convince the U.S. and its NATO allies that it is legitimately defending Western interests against the Communist-dominated Zimbabwean forces. A victory for the Patriotic Front, Salisbury contends, would further increase the influence in Africa of the Soviet Union.

The escalating attacks on Mozambique are designed to force it to seek military assistance from socialist countries, especially Cuba, which would enhance Smith's claim of Communist aggression and compel South Africa and her Western allies to intercede either covertly or overtly.

On balance Smith's policy has proven ineffective. While the raids into Mozambique provided momentary relief for the besieged minority community, they have not instilled much confidence among his supporters as witnessed by the intensified outflow of Europeans and the dramatic decline in immigration. The preemptive attacks may have temporarily slowed down the Zimbabweans military campaign, but it has not prevented thousands of young Zimbabweans from fleeing and joining the ranks of freedom fighters. Similarly, the attacks have not demoralized the Mozambican people who have repeatedly reaffirmed their commitment both to the struggle in Zimbabwe and to the policies of FRELIMO. Throughout the country workers and peasants have given hundreds of thousands of dollars to the Bank of Solidarity that provides assistance to the Zimbabwean freedom fighters.

It is more difficult to speculate about Smith's efforts to internationalize the conflict. The Mozambican government has exhibited restraint in responding to the attacks on its territory. While President Samora Machel has indicated that FRELIMO will take whatever steps are necessary to protect Mozambique's sovereignty, the government has been reluctant to give South Africa or any other foreign powers a pretext to enter the conflict.

For the most part, the Western countries remain committed to promoting a moderate black government in order to forestall the "radicalization" of the regime. But there are ominous signs: continued support by South Africa of the Smith regime, the growing involvement of American mercenaries, currently estimated at over 400, the failure of the U.S. Commerce department effectively to enforce the international boycott against Rhodesia, and the ability of the Smith government to purchase strategic material, especially petroleum, from Western countries. This international assistance, whether as a result of covert agreements or the failure to enforce existing legislation, provides sustenance to the proponents of minority rule and raises the specter of a wider war in southern Africa.

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Arabs applaud Likud win

Continued from page 9.

ever, may turn out to be the key figure for the Soviets. Ever since the 1973 Mideast war, Assad has counted on diplomacy and the U.S.—rather than confrontation and war—to win back the Israeli-occupied Syrian Golan Heights. If Assad now decides that the Likud victory means that President Carter cannot impose a settlement, Syria may turn to a close relationship with Iraq and the Soviet Union—and to a strategy of renewed confrontation.

The Mideast has always been wrought with Byzantine animosities and friendships, with the propaganda radios of Baghdad or Cairo denouncing a neighbor one night, then lauding it the next morning. But amid the flurry of activity generated by the events in Israel, several important patterns already have emerged:

- The PLO—which faced serious difficulties with the Syrians in Lebanon last year—now is in a position to maximize its influence as hopes for the success of a moderate Arab policy diminish.

- Israel's election results provide the Carter administration with a few major opportunities, but also confront it with many serious risks. If it proves to be totally intransigent, a Likud government may make it easy for President Carter to do what would have been politically impossible in the past: steadily disengage from a blanket commitment to Israel that many advisers, notably former Undersecretary of State George Ball, argue works against American national interest.

If, in spite of the Likud victory, Carter still somehow manages to mediate a comprehensive Mideast settlement, he will have assured his place in history. But should Carter fail to convince Israel that a peace of compromise is necessary, he could wind up not only alienating the Israelis but losing Arab support as well. As

one Arab official here put it, "If America can't deliver the goods, maybe Russia can."

- Finally, Menahem Begin and his supporters, even before assuming office, have inflicted on Israel itself a diplomatic defeat unparalleled in Israel's history.

In 1967, as a European ambassador to the UN recently pointed out, Israel was able to launch a pre-emptive attack on its neighbors, defy a UN cease-fire resolution and occupy Arab territories four times its own size—all while convincing world opinion that the Arabs were really the aggressors and that Israel was only defending itself.

"Today," the ambassador said, "even many Americans are suspicious of Israel. If Israel ever again fires the first shots, she won't just be expelled from the UN, she could find that no U.S. ammunition is arriving."

Even Arab radicals still say slow but peaceful progress to a settlement is preferable to a fifth Mideast war. But they also realize that should Israeli intransigence lead to renewed hostilities, the attitude of the U.S. could be quite different from its response to earlier Arab/Israeli conflicts.

"For the first time in 30 years," one Arab diplomat concluded, "it is the Israelis, not us, who are seen as the fanatics, as the unreasonable people, as those who are against peace. We intend," he emphasized, "to use that advantage all we can."

T.D. Allman, contributing editor of Pacific News Service and former Edward R. Murrow fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations, has written on the Mideast for the New York Times, Washington Post, New Republic and European publications.

U.S./USSR at Belgrade

Continued from page 3.

European trade and detente.

In the past Western European nations have been the ones to push hardest for human rights. But now, with Carter's insistent campaign for human rights, they have become nervous about its impact on detente. They now warn the U.S. of the dangers of confrontation and urge prudence. What is responsible for this changing tune?

During the last few years detente has encouraged the development of extensive commercial ties between members of the Western European EEC and COMECON countries of Eastern Europe. Eastern European countries provide new markets for goods moving slowly in Western economies, and Western European countries provide technologically advanced machinery and credit for the socialist economies. Expanded trade and continued interdependence requires a warm political climate between the two major powers. If the political climate should cool off, as it appears to be doing at Belgrade and at the SALT II talks, these ties could be broken in a cold snap.

In addition, as trade between East and West has been growing rapidly in the last two or three years, so has the Eastern European countries' debt to the West, which has doubled from \$24 billion to \$45 billion

in the last two years.

At a time when Western European countries are struggling to pull themselves out of a recession, sales to the East are important. European countries worry that if detente stalls, their economies could stagger and the debt problem could engender a further crisis.

SALT is cornerstone.

Human rights, East European debts and increasing commercial trade between East and West are not the only hurdles facing the European community. The centerpiece of detente is the relationship between the U.S. and the USSR, and the cornerstone of this relationship is SALT. So far, American proposals have been one-sided, designed to reduce arms in Soviet areas of superiority. (See *ITT*, April 13.)

Failure to reach any mutual agreement on these strategic talks—now put off until September, with the SALT I treaty running out in October—has frozen detente. Without progress, without allaying suspicions and creating some kind of mutual confidence, detente will stall. This is what the Europeans would like to prevent. But if the Belgrade talks are any indication, it doesn't look as if they can.

Special thanks to Banning Garrett of Internews for his help.

CANADA

Ontario elects Tories, deals blow to New Democrats

TORONTO—The voters of Ontario, Canada's wealthiest and most populous province, went to the polls on June 9 and returned Premier William Davis' minority Progressive Conservative government to power. At the same time the electorate denied the New Democratic party, Canada's social-democratic movement, its former role as the provincial legislature's official opposition. The NDP's caucus dropped to third behind the resurgent Liberals.

The defeat has left the Ontario NDP in disarray and will undoubtedly prompt a reconsideration of its post-1971 election strategy, which stressed moderation rather than militancy and piecemeal reforms rather than structural changes.

Quebec fuels fears.

The Progressive Conservatives had chaffed under the fetters of their minority government status since the last election in 1975 when, for the first time in over three decades, they were unable to win enough seats to guarantee them a free hand. Needing the support of at least one of the other two parties to govern, they had to modify their policies accordingly.

The Conservative government waited impatiently for the right moment to again summon the voters to the polls. With the election last November of a separatist Parti Quebecois government in Quebec and fears for national unity being widely expressed in English Canada in the months following, that moment evidently seemed to have arrived, and the Conservatives exploited the first convenient pretext for an election.

The PCs entered the contest with definite advantages. As usual, they were able to rely on the generous financial backing of the province's corporate elite, whose interests have always been well served by Tory rule. In addition, they could draw on a substantial amount of habitual voter identification in this traditionally conservative province, which has been reinforced over the years by the timely and pragmatic responsiveness of PC governments to the need for action in such areas as public medical insurance, expressway-born urban sprawl, and access to higher education. And as a long-standing force for stability in Ontario, they were in the best position to capitalize on the insecurity spawned by the course of events in Quebec.

The Tory campaign was a media-intensive effort glossing over specific issues and stressing instead Premier Davis' leadership

qualities. The Conservative answer to the more tangible issue of unemployment, running at about eight percent in Ontario was predictable—\$280 million in corporate tax credits. Earlier in the race, PC advertising also took a more aggressive tack, recalling the party's successful 1971 election strategy of "socialist-bashing." An oft-repeated television ad rather clumsily linked the Ontario NDP to its more radical and controversial counterpart in British Columbia, and one Tory Cabinet minister even went so far as to tie the New Democrats to Quebec separatism.

The Jimmy Carter purity.

As the Tory game-plan unfolded, the Liberal party sought to improve on its poor 1975 showing. The Liberals, the party of Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau at the federal level, had for years maintained an anemic presence in Ontario politics, never having been able to break the Tory hold on the electorate. Taking the field for the first time under Stuart Smith, a political novice, and claiming bedrock support only regionally and among farmers and small businessmen, the party did not appear promising.

Nonetheless, in the manner of Jimmy Carter, Smith tried to turn his weakness into a strength—arguing that his party was beholden neither to big business nor organized labor and would, if given power, exercise it disinterestedly. He assailed high government spending and promised to hold expenditures and taxes down. He blamed Tory education policies for a decline in the quality of public education and in his own way toyed with the national unity issue, strongly advocating the expansion of language rights for Ontario's small French-speaking community and letting it be known that he alone among the three party leaders was fluent in Canada's other official language. On the key unemployment question, Smith advanced a plan of direct government subsidies to the private sector to hire the jobless.

Left dissolved.

Determined to repel the Liberal attempt to supplant them, the New Democrats again pursued the electoral strategy that had made them a surprising runnerup to the Tories in 1975. The origins of that approach could be traced back to the 1971 campaign, when a young, aggressive Stephen Lewis led the party to a humiliating defeat. Thereafter, the notion that the NDP projected too radical an image came to prevail in the minds of Lewis and those around him, particularly the union offi-



Progressive Conservative Premier William Davis campaigns in Toronto, accompanied by his wife (right) and candidate Maria Sgro (left).

Canadian Presse

The New Democratic party's strategy was to minimize their anticorporate stance and emphasize common sense reforms. The new moderation didn't work. The NDP dropped to 3rd behind the Tories and the resurgent liberals.

cialists whose organizations provided the lion's share of the party's funds. This ultimately resulted in a showdown in 1974 between the leadership and the "Waffle" faction, the party's left-wing caucus, which ended in the latter's dissolution.

By the time the 1975 election campaign was underway, the province was being treated to a "new" Lewis image—that of an affable, pipe-smoking family man. The character of the party's pronouncements was altered as well, from broad anti-corporation rhetoric and nationalization thunder to limited remedies for current problems of popular concern, such as the skyrocketing cost of rental accommodation in the major urban centers.

Encouraged by the achievement that moderation had wrought, the NDP organized for a similar effort this year. Television advertising was devoted to depicting Lewis as a "humane, compassionate man," while under the slogan, "common sense never made more sense than now," the party emphasized its unemployment program of pump-priming measures and its proposals for combatting pollution and improving safeguards for workers exposed

to hazardous working conditions.

As the campaign progressed, however, it became apparent that Lewis' quest for the vital center had carried him even to the right of some parts of the NDP's "common sense" platform. In a televised debate with the other leaders he essentially repudiated the party's stated objective of public ownership of natural resources and was on several occasions obviously uncomfortable with having to defend his own platform's demand for a \$4 minimum wage.

After the votes were tabulated, none of the parties had much cause for celebration, but the New Democrats were the real losers. Their momentum toward power was reversed by their disappointing finish, and in their anxious drive for popular approval they lost their bearings as well. Disheartened, Stephen Lewis, citing personal reasons, resigned the leadership a few days later. Without a likely successor to Lewis or a clear alternative political direction, the Ontario NDP is now in disarray and faces an uphill struggle to regain lost ground.

WORLD IN BRIEF

Chile's prisoners

WASHINGTON, D.C.—On Friday, June 17, five people occupied the United Nations Office of Technology here and began a hunger strike. The group, which includes a priest, are occupying the office because it corresponds to the one in which 26 people have been staging a hunger strike since June 14 in Santiago, Chile. The 24 women and two men in Chile are protesting the disappearance of relatives detained by the Chilean secret police, the DINA.

According to Amnesty International, over 1,500 Chileans have "disappeared" after having been detained by the DINA, which is under the exclusive control of President August Pinochet. Many thousands more who are missing but were not

seen being arrested are also thought to be inmates of huge concentration camps set up by the Chilean junta on islands off the coast.

The Non-Intervention in Chile Committee (NICH) and the Emergency Committee for Disappeared Chileans hastily called a support demonstration outside the building that houses the UN office on Sunday, June 19. About 200 demonstrators came to support the occupiers and to hear speeches of support. Prayers were heard and an ecumenical celebration of the Eucharist was given by representatives of Washington's Catholic and Protestant communities.

The organizers of the demonstration plan a weekly event, every Sunday, until the Chileans receive information about the disappeared persons and leave the office in Santiago. The occupation of the Washington office will also continue until

the Chilean demands for an investigation into the status of the disappeared are met.

At this moment the hunger strikers in Chile are held incommunicado, and the 26 relatives of the disappeared are approaching their second week of fasting. The drive was touched off last week when the Chilean regime announced to the world that it no longer has any political prisoners.

—John Acher

South Africa loans

A national campaign seeking withdrawal of accounts from banks making loans to South Africa was launched on Friday, June 24, at the New York headquarters of the American Committee on Africa.

The Committee to Oppose Bank Loans to South Africa initiated by the ACOA

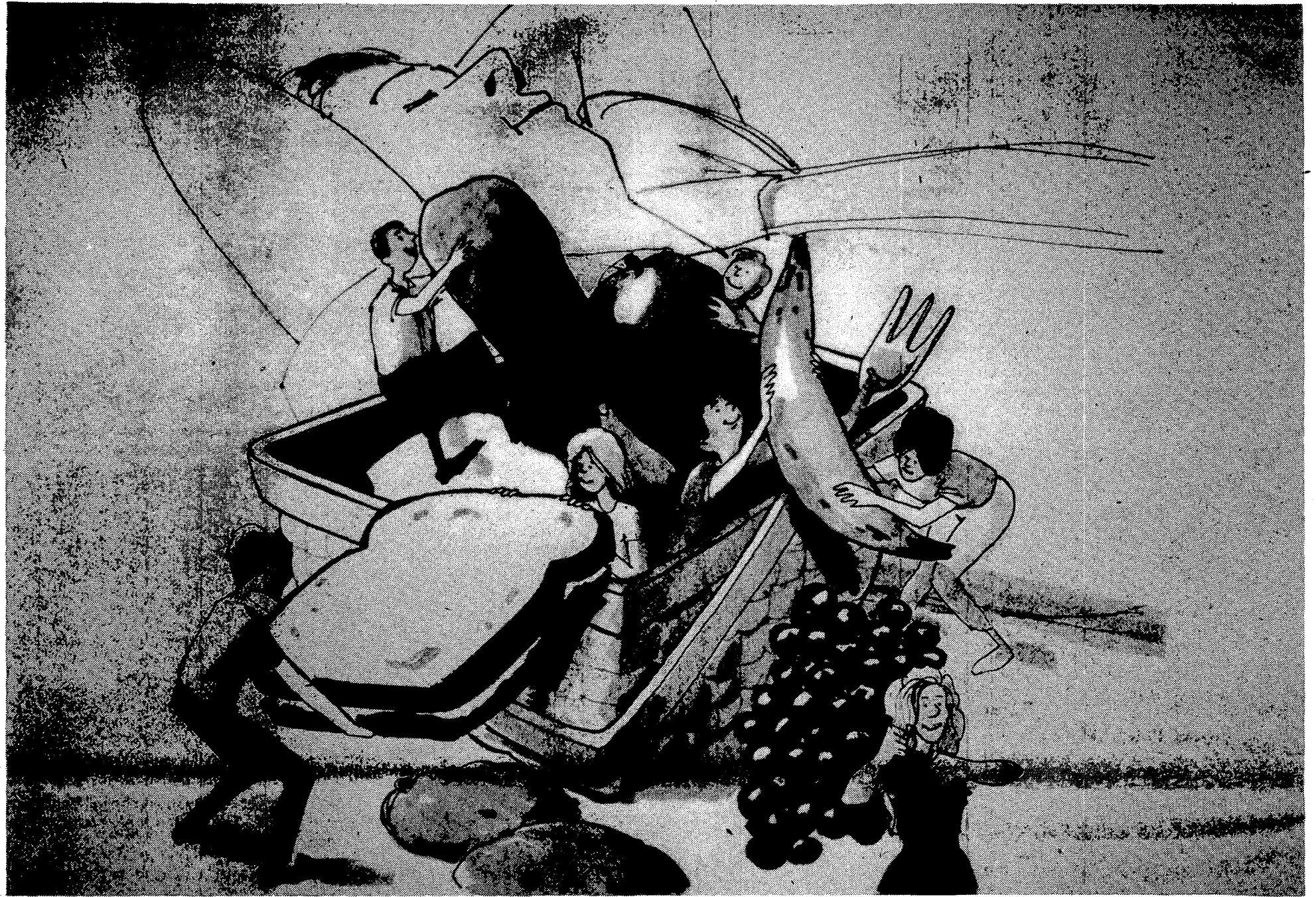
and Clergy and Laity Concerned, an interfaith network with chapters in 40 cities in the U.S., and the national office of the American Friends Service Committee, is spearheading the bank campaign.

Ten years ago ACOA was instrumental in organizing a similar campaign. It ended in 1969 with the termination of a \$40 million revolving credit to South Africa by ten major U.S. banks, among them Citibank, Chase Manhattan, Morgan Guaranty, and Manufacturers Hanover Trust. Committee records show at least \$25 million in funds was withdrawn from the banks at that time. These same banks are among major targets of the new campaign, which is aimed at ending loans believed to total at least \$2 billion.

The Committee already has indications that major trade union and religious and civic groups will withdraw funds totalling more than those withdrawn in 1969.

THE (SOMETIMES) IRRESIST

Illustration by Rich Kimmel



A DIMINUTIVE, ELDERLY lady presents her weekly selection of groceries to the checkout clerk. The quantity is small, but painstakingly selected; you can tell by the way she carefully inspects each item as she sets it down. The clerk, a short young man, begins to ring it all up and gives the lady a kindly wink. The cash register records the tuna fish, the macaroni, the canned wax beans and the small bag of Oreos (her one treat) but omits the three cans of cat food. "You're *such* a nice young man," says the lady.

In a nearby checkout aisle a younger woman with a two-year-old girl squirming in the shopping cart seat slowly wheels out the cart and its contents: a full bag of groceries, paid for already, and an unwrapped box of stainless steel flatware, not paid for. Her face moves back and forth from a sad faraway gaze to loving glances at her child. Her hair falls into her eyes out of its semblance of a two-years-out-of-date hairstyle. No one notices her or the silverware, though a few have looked at the child.

In an adjoining discount house two 15-year-old boys with less subtlety stash small handfuls of 45 rpm records inside ketchup-stained nylon windbreakers.

Last but not least, a stockroom clerk in

the back of the discount house dispatches an official slip down to the loading dock. It authorizes the pick-up of one 19-inch Sony color television set with remote control channel selection by a company delivery van. However, the information on the slip—that the item has been paid for—is incorrect. Not a penny has been paid. The young man driving the truck is a friend of the stock clerk and will deliver the set to a third friend. He is pacing around nervously on the dock because he has never done anything like this, but the other loading clerks either don't notice or don't care.

These might all be scenes in an illustrated movie prepared by a creative consulting firm for store managers with the question "How many of the standard

forms of inventory shrinkage can you spot in this picture?"

"Inventory shrinkage" on the rise.

The retail industry is making massive efforts to crack down on "inventory shrinkage." It has hired consulting firms and bared its retaliatory teeth: closed-circuit TV cameras (pretend and real), store detectives (disguised or undisguised), ads in the papers with shoplifters who could be you or me behind bars, crackdowns on employees, salestags that trigger alarm systems if not removed before the attached item reaches the door, salestags that unleash trained dogs....

Yet still inventory shrinkage in America marches on to record-breaking heights.

One study by the National Research Merchants Association in 1973, based on nearly 150,000 apprehensions, indicated that more women than men steal, more people in the suburbs than in the cities, more juveniles than grownups (though by only a few percentage points). The study also indicated that there is considerably more employee theft—from 60 to 75 percent more—than shopper theft.

Theft amounts to two to three percent of total sales. Naturally, storeowners and stockholders do not absorb much of this cost; it is passed on to the customer.

While a lot of attention has been paid to the phenomenon of "inventory shrinkage," there has been relatively little given to the question from the point of view of the perpetrators, those who carry out the "shrinkage," who do the stealing, if you prefer.

I. Shoplifting

Shoplifting is the simplest form of assault on business property. It is usually done on an individual basis, while other forms of shrinkage are often, though not always, group efforts, requiring the coop-

eration of at least two people. A basic place to start in trying to understand why people steal, then, is to examine the motives of individuals who steal "from the outside."

A succinct explanation of why teenagers top all other ages for shoplifting is provided by one 14-year-old boy. "We're too young to earn much money so how else can we get things? We have to depend on our parents for money and everything else and we get sick of it."

A teenage girl says she steals cosmetics and bubble bath preparations "because I don't want to spend what little money I get from babysitting on that stuff—but I like to have it. It makes me feel good, to smell all fancy, you know; it picks me up."

Adults who shoplift often develop systems, especially if they steal over an extended period of time, as well as their own particular rationale. For instance, Mary Ann stole candy bars as a child, then was caught by the local druggist, who made her promise she would never do it again. She did not, for many years—but then she went into it with a vengeance.

Alone and angry.

"It happened after I'd lost the first decent job I'd ever had. I had worked really hard and everybody said I did a good job and then, pffff! the job was gone, just like that, a whole section of the company was eliminated. It was 1970. I was alone by then, raising my daughter."

"I was realizing how isolated a woman on her own with a child is... I had this boyfriend who I was breaking up with who had a fairly high-paying job; he was always talking about whether such and such was worth his time. I realized how much less my time was worth—all the more so for the work of being a mother. I was paying a babysitter all the while that he was going on about how expensive his time was..."

By Jane Melnick

BLE ACT OF STEALING

"Anyway, we got rid of each other and the job got rid of me at about the same time and I went on an incredible shoplifting binge; I got records, utensils, a few articles of expensive hip clothing I'd never been able to afford, a roast beef...things I knew I wouldn't be able to get once I was on unemployment..."

Nothing made me feel better.

"I wasn't a fire-breathing radical but I did put together over the years an understanding that people don't just own things because they need them and work hard to get them. I read a book about the robber barons, you know, how they set up the great fortunes, direct ancestors of the big corporations by doing things like gun running, bribing, monopolizing transportation, driving little guys out, selling land to immigrants at huge profits...some free enterprise system."

"I'd really believed in it—the free enterprise system. I came from a small business family. Small business is a joke beside the volume of the big corporations. Also, I thought about all the things I'd seen rich people do with their money as a kid; you know, replacing the diapers to match the new TV console, sending sons off to Europe to break up relationships the parents didn't approve; all the while saying how nice they are to be doing all this... And all because the man of the family works hard in a certain way (or more likely inherited stocks or opportunities), but not harder than a lot of other people do."

"Nothing made me feel as good when I got laid off, not all the sympathy I got, as just getting back—actually evening the balance in my own quiet way..."

Make myself "invisible."

When confronted with how her shoplifting contributes to raising prices for everyone, Mary Anne looked worried. "Yes, I worry about that more and more... It's just that women get such a rotten deal. I mean look at the jobs open to us. It does feel necessary to have shoplifting available as an option."

Mary Anne says the basis of her method is always to get "something I or someone else really needs, and never get too much, or try to get anything more expensive than necessary. I've taken just about every conceivable kind of householdware, lots of socks, underwear, children's clothes, gloves, mittens, several down parkas for friends, a power saw, a fan, a hair dryer... Once I walked out of a discount house pushing a shopping cart brim full with kitchen utensils."

How does she manage to steal items in such quantity and in such unconcealable sizes?

"I make myself invisible... I get into my most down-trodden housewife mood... a little sad, a little mousey. I pretend I've got an ugly, fake-fur hat on. It's amazing how no one wants to look at me. It's a way to get back, I'm sure, at how invisible women can be..."

Less dangerous than smoking.

Mary Anne came from a relatively affluent background, but has lived on a low income for several years. There are plenty of shoplifters, however, with higher incomes.

Jack, a college French teacher, has shoplifted for several years. "It's a less dangerous vice than smoking," he says, "and good for the adrenalin."

Jack says it may have run in his family. He had an uncle who used to steal from the corner drugstore, and every month the druggist would bill his aunt, who would quietly pay it.

Jack's system is to steal things he doesn't need, like red caviar, but which "are fun to have if you don't have to pay for them."

"A lot of it is in anger at corporate pricing...you get into a supermarket and all this stuff is being thrown at you that you don't need, and sure enough, this can of red caviar fits right in your pocket... I feel good if I can get 10 percent of what I spend."

Jack has given it up, however. He says he considers it too much a thrill-seeking phenomenon, and that there are too many people doing it in an unprincipled way. He has also seen well-intentioned small stores driven out of business by indiscriminate rip-off artists. "You know, it's often the ex-students, from places like Swarthmore, who are able to go in and not be suspected."

Take only the mark-up.
Molly, another woman who has done "five-finger discounting" regularly for the last several years, has, like Jack, a mathematical system.

Take only the mark-up.

Unlike Jack and Mary Ann, she does not come from an affluent background. She has had good jobs, but prefers to work odd jobs than be tied down. "Based on my experience of jobs, I have a pretty good sense of what it costs to produce an article... I add in production, transportation, packaging... It varies from store to store, though of course I only do it at the big stores... then I steal the amount of the mark-up, say 10 to 40 percent."

Molly always makes a point of being friendly to the salespeople and feels this may have saved her from being apprehended a few times. Once when she was carrying a large heist, several boxes of writing paper were completely unconcealed. "I gave the security guard a big smile while he held the door for me."

Woman's advantage.
Many women shoplifters seem to use aspects of being a woman to their advantage.

One woman, Cynthia, like Mary Ann, a mother, got out of an apprehension recently by saying she had started to hemorrhage internally. "I started moaning about an ovarian cyst and how I'd suddenly felt dizzy and didn't know what I was doing... Then I told them that I'd felt this blood dripping down my leg and thought I ought to get to the doctor fast..." She handed the store detective a small portable radio she had taken from the store and he just let her run off.

Cynthia says she began stealing when she noticed the high price of Gerber's baby food several years ago. She has been stealing regularly ever since, mostly small luxury foods and clothing for her children. She works as a nurse, her husband is a high-school teacher, yet she feels that regular shoplifting is necessary to supplement her family's income, to get quality clothes for her children, and an occasional small luxury for herself.

Evening things up.
Cynthia indicates that a part of her motivation to shoplift has to do with the fact that her mother and father spent all their working lives doing piece-work in a underwear factory and yet did not end up with much for their pains. She described how she and her mother were watching the Randolph Hearst food distribution on TV and her mother had said, "Those people wouldn't need that food if they'd just get off their duffs."

Cynthia replied to her mother, "But no one's worked harder than you, not even Randolph. How come he's got so much and you don't?" Her parents' docile acceptance of the inequities of work and rewards seems to become a part of her motivation as well as the inequities themselves.

"I believe," she said, "in sharing the wealth and it didn't look like anyone was offering. So I got off my duff and decided to help myself."

No Horatio Alger.

Men who steal also talk about the same feeling of powerlessness to improve or live up their lives by hard work and the Horatio Alger method. "Most people are not going to work their way up, after all," says one male petty thief.

Another started doing it before the youth culture (and Abby Hoffmann's influential book, *Steal This Book*) made it fashionable; he was attending an exclusive Eastern college and could not afford to take out dates in the same style as his wealthier classmates. He and a friend had a system of stealing an extra textbook with every one they had to buy, then getting different friends to return them for the cash and a small cut.

Another man, who gave up a lucrative job at IBM, stole wood from the furniture factory where he had a menial job, and made tables at night.

II. Employee rip-off

Employee rip-offs, as the research firms point out, still account for as much as two-thirds of inventory shrinkage, not to mention cash lay-aways of many sorts.

A woman who has worked at 13 jobs in 17 years cannot think of a single company she worked for where employees did not steal from the company, whether it took the modest form of "cheating" the time clock (punch-in early, punch out late) to stealing pens, padding expense accounts and outright theft of materials.

An employee in a large urban department store said that the younger employees and some of the older black employees see it "as the least we could do for what we give them." (Older white employees were often more opposed to it.) This woman mentioned a system where employees would co-operate extensively on write-ups for employee discounts in each others' departments; understatement of how many items were being bought was involved, as well as wider distribution of the goods than the employee's immediate family.

Cooperative arrangements.

Elaborate systems are often part of employee rip-offs as well as extensive trust and cooperation. A woman who worked for a while selling tickets on "The Octopus" ride of a traveling circus had a system with the teenage boy who ran the ride. It was called "rehashing" tickets and it consisted of reselling tickets and splitting the take on the second sellings. Many others working for the same circus had similar arrangements.

"Considering the wages you got—about a dollar an hour [in 1969]—it seemed only fair," she concluded.

A young man who grew up in a good Christian home in the Midwest recalls his days of stealing as a car-hop in the mid-'60s. "Everybody did it. We'd take home \$3-4 every night; the cashiers would take 20-30 bucks a night... There were several possible ways of doing it. They had special deals, for instance. An order of burgers, fries and a shake for cut price, so when we'd get separate orders, like for five fries, five shakes and five burgers, we'd call in five specials, but charge 'em separately and keep the difference... We'd also do fast ones on the change. The people at the window would slip us food sometimes; we'd sell it or give it away to friends... The cashiers made the big money because the tickets weren't counted. They could just tear them up and not ring up the sale."

In an office I was visiting recently I found a woman who claimed she had never stolen on the job. The reason she gave for not doing it, however, was not that she didn't have a desire to cheat the company but that she felt if she were go-

ing to go to the trouble of stealing she would do it in a big way. This is an attitude frequently encountered.

It's everywhere.

Stealing from the company, in one form or another, is everywhere... A father sends his daughter parts from his factory for a mimeograph machine used by a political group... Every story has its unique flourish... Even the leaders of a long-lasting underground newspaper weren't free from the problem faced by managers as items mysteriously disappeared. Johnny Cash had a big hit with his song, "One Piece at a Time," which describes how an auto-worker put together a mismatched Cadillac by stealing the parts "one piece at a time."

An article in the *Chicago Daily News* this winter had some interesting statistics. In a survey of workers who had taken property from their employers, two-thirds said that "taking" was not the same as stealing.

A lie-detector company gave tests to over 1,000 employees of a retail firm and found that 76 percent had stolen \$2 worth or more from the store. This same company tested the managers and assistant managers of a supermarket chain and found 90 percent stealing.

A security consultant said he'd "never found a purchasing agent who hadn't taken a kickback of some sort from a supplier."

An officer of American Management Associations says that "Before, if a worker walked off with a set of tools from the plant, everybody called it stealing. Today it's 'adjusted compensation' for wage rates they consider too low."

Part of the national character.

Many Americans get a certain light in their eye when they talk about shoplifting or stealing from the company, their own work or other people's. One of the fringe benefits seems to be the stories about the caper that can be told later. A recent one I heard concerned a six-foot tall man who reportedly stole a five-foot long sausage under his coat. It may be that the sausage, like certain fish we've heard of, grew with the telling.

In any event, Americans, rich and poor and the great in-between, must for the most part, know the cost to us all of shoplifting and that management is not going to shoulder the cost despite the fact that its salaries are three, 15, 100 times higher than most people's.

And people know that punishments get more severe every year, though they may not—the *Daily News* asserts—know the extent to which this is true, as well as the far greater willingness of stores and police to prosecute. Then too, rewards to employees who catch each other stealing from the boss are on the increase.

Yet small-time stealing seems to be built into the national character, and is not being stopped by all these measures. Perhaps it is a deeply conditioned response to a culture that is so consumerist, materialist, individualist and competitive; having the same sort of hold on the national psyche as more grandiose forms of cheating such as con-games.

An older woman who lives in a comfortable suburb and has no particular financial worries, could begin to sum it up. "Everybody steals. I steal from airplanes. My whole family does, one piece per person per trip."

"Sometimes I shock people by asking them what they steal. At first most people deny it; after they've thought about it, they realize they do and tell you what they steal...ashtrays, cocktail glasses, towels."

"Why do I steal? I'm always being ripped off one way or another. Things I buy cost too much, don't last, or don't work right in the first place. Revenge, that's what it is. Impotent revenge!"

IN THESE TIMES

Editorial

Jimmy Carter is watching you

Jacques Ellul wrote of police technology:
 "Will this apparatus be applied only to criminals?
 We know that this is not the case..."

The Carter administration has been moving on three fronts to centralize control over federal intelligence and police operations. It is seeking to consolidate intelligence agencies under one head, as it has already succeeded in doing in energy affairs. It is seeking a new FBI chief who will be firmly controlled by the attorney-general and hence by the President. And it has now approved an FBI project for computerizing the collection and emission of state and local police records on wanted and missing persons, as well as stolen property.

To the extent that the first two moves strengthen presidential accountability for federal police and intelligence activities, they are all to the good. But in the absence of strict legislative limits on those activities, they will immeasurably strengthen, by streamlining, the unchecked exercise of presidential power in domestic as well as foreign affairs.

The third move, however, is ominous. Data collection by police and its use for harassment and intimidation of citizens has always been almost impossible to prevent and limit; all the more so with computerized data collection. A national computer central drawing upon the records of state and local police throughout the country will be a crucial long step toward federal government surveillance of all citizens. As students of police technique know, an indispensable key to comprehensive surveillance is the efficient organization of "records."

In his classic study of technology almost 15 years ago, Jacques Ellul wrote of the even then rapidly growing policy technology: "Will this apparatus be applied only to criminals? We know that this is not the case... To be sure of apprehending criminals, it is necessary that *everyone* be supervised. It is necessary to know exactly what every citizen is up to..."

Recent history supports Ellul's warning on the dangers inherent in such schemes as the FBI computer project.

• Police surveillance and sophisticated technology has had no measurable effect on retarding ordinary crime, which has continued its steady increase among all classes. But police technique has been consistently directed against dissident cultural and political activity, especially on the left, and even when that activity subsides as in

the past few years. Taking their lead from the prevalent pro-capitalist political guardians of society, police have generally regarded people working for social change as "suspects" or potential criminals (subversives), requiring close surveillance. But the police have generally winked at conservatives and rightists as either a little "nuts" or as overzealous patriots. Often the police have collaborated with and protected them.

• The President's conservative fiscal policies are dooming the cities to further deterioration, certain to result in renewed civil strife. A few months ago the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) submitted a report to the President emphasizing the likelihood of major civil disturbances in the cities in the near future and recommending the use of preventive detention as a remedy. Carter stated in a press conference at about that time that he would resort to preventive detention "only" in "dire emergency."

• Upon the recommendation in 1968 of now Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, whom President Johnson had sent to investigate the Detroit riots, a civil disturbance unit was established in the Pentagon. That unit is subject to the direction of the Justice department and is still in place. The Justice department will control the FBI computer project. In the event of civil disturbances, among those "wanted" or "missing" will undoubtedly be leaders of or participants in movements for social change, including those wanted by the government for "inciting to riot"—as with the defendants in the Chicago "Conspiracy" trial. "Stolen property" may include such items as "classified" government documents.

The FBI computer project will immeasurably strengthen the powers of political repression at all levels of government, and if effected, will be in place as social conflict sharpens and intensifies in the future.

The FBI has been trying to start this project since 1973, but the Ford administration dared not approve it while revelations of FBI illegal and corrupt activities were still very much in public view. It is the kind of police technique the U.S. government has turned over to Latin American and other dictatorships. Now, while Carter's selection of a new "reform" FBI director is getting headlines, he has



quietly given the green light to the same project the Ford administration rejected.

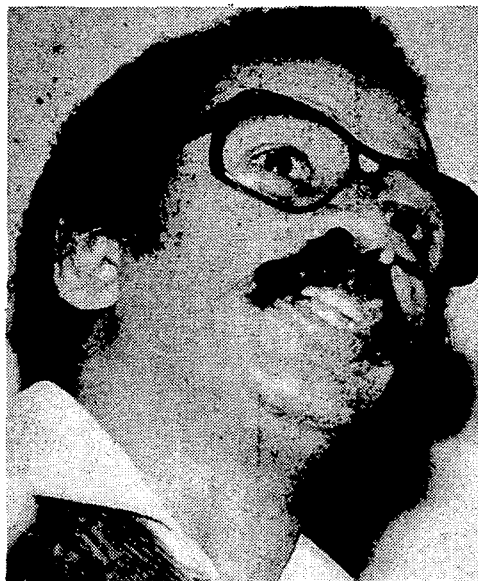
There is substantial congressional opposition to the FBI computer project. One opponent, Rep. John E. Moss (D-CA) wrote to Attorney-General Bell that although Carter ran "on a platform emphasizing ... respect for the Bill of Rights and ... existing liberties for all Americans," his approval of the project augurs "a step backward" and "poses a threat to the civil liberties and privacy of every citizen." So far, however, the Carter administration is going ahead with the computer project.

Congress has itself to blame at least in part. It granted the President the authority to initiate Executive reorganization. The FBI project is styled by the administration as part of Carter's commitment to such reorganization. Congress will not likely rescind that authority, but it can pass laws such as the bill introduced by

Rep. Herman Badillo (D-NY), the Federal Intelligence Agencies Control Act (HR-6051) forbidding political intelligence by federal police and intelligence agencies (see *ITT* Editorial, June 8). And Congress can directly forbid the establishment of the FBI computer program. Without strong public support for such legislation Congress as now constituted cannot be expected to act.

When seeking office, Carter asked "Why Not the Best?" A "best" society is one that has less and less need for police. Carter has opted for more police, and in his other policies he seems to be telling us that "circumstances will not permit the best." This is in the "best" tradition of American political "pragmatism." But it is that tradition, tied as it is to preserving capitalism at all costs, that has brought on the circumstances and with them more and more of the trappings of a police state.

As we were saying.....



President Carter may have been a whiz as a Sunday school teacher back home in Plains, but as an occupant of the White House "he's standing in the need of prayer to help restore his memory."

That's the opinion of Rep. John Conyers (D-MI), one of the most outspoken members of the Congressional Black Caucus.

Conyers is convinced that Carter's "game plan" is forcing him "to renege on his key campaign promises to support full employment, welfare reform, national health insurance and urban revitalization...."

"On March 7, the Congressional Black Caucus wrote Carter asking him for a meeting with us on HR-50 (the Hawkins-Humphrey), the full employment bill. No response. Several weeks later, we got a re-

sponse from a White House secretary denying us a meeting.

"Later, I met with Dick Brown, of the Full Employment Coalition, of which Coretta Scott King and union leader Murray Finley are co-chairpersons. Both had sent letters on their own and were turned down by President Carter," Conyers said.

Carter has launched a two-pronged program that "has locked the door on any possibility of a serious full employment effort or an economic planning mechanism on the part of the federal government," Conyers charged.

"First ... he found that energy required a moral commitment equivalent to war....

"What that simply means is, in a crisis, imperial presidencies flourish and whatever else was on the immediate Monday agenda is no longer of great consequence.

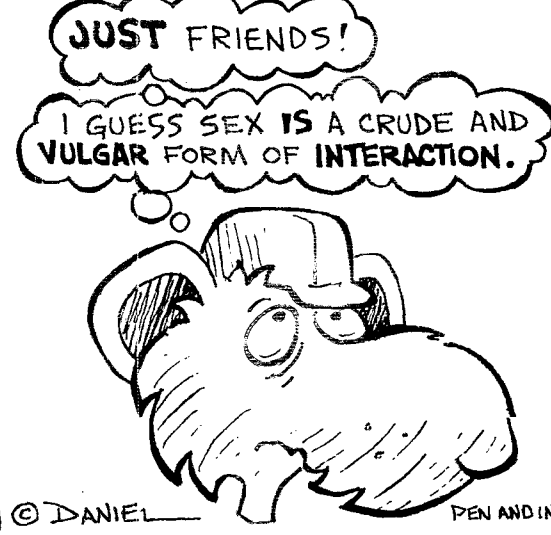
"Secondly, by choosing to balance the budget, he is foreclosing the possibility of the development of any domestic programs, which dooms all the ghettos to further deterioration. It makes any meaningful change in the employment situation of blacks impossible.

"It also means that serious aid to the cities from the federal government will not be fulfilled and, of course, welfare and health insurance are shunted rather brutally aside. If you try to eliminate a \$69 billion deficit in three years and balance the budget, that precludes everything else."

(As reported by black columnist
 Vernon Jarrett in the
 Chicago Tribune, June 22.)

Except the military and the police.

THE FACTORY WITH RATSUS AND RIFKA



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Letters

Ratshit

Editor:

Ratsus' response to his first fan letter is the best response to the current state of socialism that I've seen in a long time. In attacking what he apparently considers to be "false assumptions" underlying the characterization of workers "personified" in that little rat, the letter writer leaves the door open for the usual romanticization of workers (a mixture, Hoggart says, of pity and patronization) that has afflicted socialist thought for over a century. My guess is that the writer shares such illusions, although if he is like most socialists, he believes them to be "facts." But these assumptions are—I submit—pure ratshit.

Ratsus, I love ya. Sorry your species name has been abused here. But keep on keepin' on, and don't let the bastards get ya down. Love to Rifka too.

—Gerard J. Grzyb
(ex-Polack tractor parts packer,
now a Polack sociologist)
Champaign, Ill.

Home-made English

Editor:

Re the bill \$40.00 for a two-year subscription, I take the liberty to pay it in Finnmarks. If it is not suitable to you, I am sure you will return my money in order to agree with the proper mode of payment. Looking at the bill I can find out a possibility to make a contribution (sustaining) to you, but as an ordinary worker I am afraid it is beyond my capacity at least for the time being. The value of money I send to you is a bit more than \$40. I send 170 Finnmarks and if something would be left, it is a symbolic token of friendship. Thank you! Excuse my home-made English.

Teuvo Thure
Oreavikoski, Finland

No, this is how it happened

Editor:

As an otherwise delighted reader, I continue to be distressed by your anti-Israel policy. Still it comes as a surprise to see you descend from half-truth to real inaccuracy and innuendo.

The election was not a Likud victory. It was a Labor defeat. Of 120 seats in the Knesset, Likud gained two, while the New Democratic party got 14. Labor lost 78.

Never has your paper used baiting like "the 'liberated'" (sic) territories.

The Palestinian national state was created in 1948 by the UN, chiefly with Israeli. In the face of the Arab armies to crush the Zionist state, it got partitioned between Syria, Trans-Jordan and Egypt.

In 1949, while swamped with refugees from both the concentration camps and

Jews expelled from the Arab countries (who outnumbered the uprooted Palestinians), Israel made a generous offer to allow the Palestinians who had left to return. However, the Arab governments claimed that Israel did not exist, and anyway, they were still at war with her.

Before 1967, while the West Bank was in Arab hands, there was no talk of an extra state. Then Israel was again attacked, and was again victorious.

Now the aggressors claim that having lost gives them the moral right to dictate terms to their intended victim—while not wavering from the goal of ultimate annihilation.

Neil Rest
Chicago

We don't live by the book

Editor:

I am not subscribing to your paper and I think, for your benefit, I should tell you why.

I am not a socialist, but that has nothing to do with it. Under any social and economic organization of society, certain people have the drive, ambition and whatever characteristics are needed to rise to positions of leadership. Once there, it is seldom that they can control their instincts for the benefit of the masses. This applies to the U.S. as well as to the U.S.S.R. The exceptions are few.

What I object to is your apparent firm decision to limit 'letters to the editor' in all cases to approximately 250 words. This says that your readers cannot possibly have any important message that compares with your staff or the professional writers.

I recognize that you cannot give unlimited space and that it's necessary to condense. On the other hand, if a reader writes well and has something valid to say, then he should be given the space. This of course may not fit in with your view that you are the leaders and know best what your readers need. Well, you had the money, drive and ambition to start your paper. So live with your arbitrary rule.

—D.B. Lawrence
Weaverville, NC

[Editor's note: Our Dialog section is available for those with important messages. The limit is about 800 words. If that's not enough, write a book.]

Bound for glory

Editor:

Enclosed is a donation to assist you in your efforts to keep publishing *ITT*.

I await each issue anxiously and would like to thank you for the stimulation I receive from your solid, well-written socialist analysis and coverage of events.

Due to past mail foul-ups I have not received issues #14 and 21 and would appreciate receiving duplicates as I would like a complete set in order to get them bound and placed in our local's reading room.

—A. Ranachan
Toronto, Ont.

A pretty girl is like a malady

Editor:

Please forgive me for not rising to the bait in your Letters column, but sometimes I just can't help it.

Sarah Begus' letter (*ITT*, June 15) raises more questions than it answers. To wit:

1) Does Sarah assume that Gloria Steinem's picture and testimonial were published without Gloria's connivance and cooperation?

2) Does Gloria Steinem need Sarah Begus to protect her from herself?

3) Why does Begus assume that *ITT* was exploiting Steinem's looks by printing her picture, but not the looks of Bev Grant, Holly Near, etc., when *ITT* printed their pictures.

4) Was *ITT* exploiting Studs Terkel's looks by printing his picture and testimonial?

5) Is it ever possible to print photographs of attractive women without someone somewhere accusing them of being exploited for their looks?

Seriously though folks, obviously the real issue here is the use of Steinem's fame in promoting *ITT*. Whatever our wishes in the matter, fame = influence. If someone becomes known for certain achievements, intelligence or insight, etc., their "word" has a certain amount of pull. Terkel and Steinem have this pull. They like *ITT* and were willing to share their influence in plugging it. No mystery there.

Left demonstrations often employ the same device in listing "stars" who will speak (e.g. Angela Davis, Martin Sostre, etc.). Come the revolution may we all be stars. Meanwhile, as I always say: "Vootie!"

J. Fred Muggs
San Francisco

And next we bring you Seattle Slew

Editor:

Herbert Marcuse wrote in a recent letter that he read every article in *ITT* with the exception of sports. He was right as your coverage of sports has been, for the most part, one-dimensional and more appropriate to *Sports Illustrated*. Whether it be forecasting NBA playoffs, analyzing the supposed difference between city (corporate) and country (individualistic) basketball, or reporting the "victory" of French-Canadian nationalism via the Montreal Canadians, the essential phenomenon has been the reinforcement of what Marcuse called "affirmative culture."

Noticeably missing is analysis of the meaning of participant and spectator sports in our lives and culture and the aspects of each that might be part of a healthy physical and mental existence. Work toward a socialist sport-culture demands much more than simply abolishing corporate domination of sport. I have become so disillusioned with the sport section of your otherwise fine newspaper that I turn to it expecting to see an interview with Seattle Slew.

—Harvey Lawson
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Jamaican scarcity continues

Editor:

Having recently returned from a visit to Jamaica the Lappe/Collins column, "World Recession Improves the Jamaican Diet" (*ITT*, May 25) struck me as dangerously misleading. The scarcity of white rice, flour, cereals, and cooking oil in the food stores and marketplaces I visited were a common source of complaint. In Montego Bay, the largest city in St. James parish where Dr. Marchione did the nutritional survey upon which the column relies, rice is rationed. When a truck delivering French flour arrived in the market one day a large crowd gathered to try and buy sacks that had not been sold in advance.

The thrust of the Lappe/Collins remarks that "dismantling the neo-colonial dependency both on export crops and food imports is a first step in addressing the causes of hunger" can too easily be used by rich countries to cut poor countries adrift. Forced austerity may lead to import substitution and expanded domestic agricultural production, but on whose terms? The approximately 40 percent devaluation of the Jamaican dollar in April will in the short run increase the urgency of international bank loans as much as agricultural growth.

Child nutrition has not suffered in the past few years not because Jamaica is less dependent (internal and external debt are at record levels) but because the Manley regime tries to provide for the population's basic needs. The Jamaica Nutrition Holdings Ltd., a government corporation that provides fortified meals to school children and imports foodstuffs, is perhaps the best example of this policy. The government's one year emergency production plan released on April 22 seeks to expand Project Lend Lease to increase domestic cereal production. Under this program more than 24,000 farmers have already leased farms from the government under favorable terms.

By the government's own reckoning, however, Jamaica's attempts to meet people's needs while transforming its economic institutions will require more, not less, export revenues. As Prime Minister Manley said, "There is a great danger at this time that the present lull on the world economic scene... will lull the members of the Third World into a feeling of false security. While we welcome the respite from massive inflation and grave recession, we are still in a world system that works chronically and perennially to the disadvantage of the poor nations of the world." In the next year or two that system will test Jamaica's diet more severely than at any time since Manley was first elected in 1972.

—Gregory Staple
Buffalo, N.Y.

Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

Bogdan Denitch

Carter's human rights campaign is narrow, but the social and political are inseparable

President Carter's highlighting of the human rights issue has politicized and popularized a dormant political question, about which, as socialists, we can only welcome a genuine campaign and commitment. The problem is that the human rights issue has gathered around it forces and individuals who are only peripherally, if at all, concerned with human rights, and who use the issue almost exclusively as a surrogate for anti-communism. As the *New York Times* reported recently, Michael Harrington was booed and prevented from speaking by a furious minority when appearing at a rally defending the human rights of Soviet dissidents. His mention of socialism and the violation of human rights in Chile and Iran outraged a large minority in the audience at a rally organized by progressive and democratic human rights advocates. That was a warning that at least in the U.S. human rights, in addition to calling forth fresh resources of democratic commitment, has become a stick with which to beat the Soviets and East Europeans, and is sometimes deliberately used as part of a campaign against detente.

Characteristic of Carter's human rights campaign is its narrowness of focus. It addresses itself almost exclusively to the rights of political dissidents. Socialists defend the rights of dissidents and the civil liberties of persons holding unpopular and anti-regime views. But starvation, exploitation, systematic underemployment and racism are at least as fundamental an attack on human rights as the violation of political freedoms.

Where the greater violations are to be found today is an open question. There are probably more political prisoners in the dictatorial countries allied to the West than in all the countries of the Soviet bloc put together. In Iran, Indonesia, the Latin American despotisms, and the regimes friendly to the West throughout Africa and Asia, there is also hardly any question that the brutalities and torture inflicted on political prisoners go beyond the bureaucratic oppression and violation of democratic norms that occur in the communist countries. Torture, rape, political murder of dissidents, paralegal police violence, massive semi-starvation of

There are probably more political prisoners in the dictatorial countries allied to the West than in all of the Soviet bloc. And the brutality and torture inflicted on political prisoners in these countries go beyond bureaucratic oppression in Communist countries.

workers, massacres of political opponents, systematic subordination of entire submerged nationalities are issues that can be more pertinently addressed to the West today than to the East European and the Soviet regimes.

This is why the Carter administration, even on its own terms, has trod softly in pressing the human rights issue. It has explicitly excluded several of the worst violators because of their strategic importance to the U.S.

When properly addressing itself to rights in the Soviet Union, the U.S. finds itself in an awkward position. Not only does the U.S. government have close political and economic ties to sundry dictatorial client states, but many of these regimes have had their police forces trained and modernized with U.S. aid.

Having said this, one must also say that concern about the rights of dissidents in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union is welcome and legitimate. Violation by one set of dictatorial regimes cannot excuse the violations that occur in the Soviet bloc. The fact that the Soviets and the East Europeans are violating rights guaranteed by international treaties in Helsinki is an additional problem: the validity of the treaty signed by those regimes. After all, one of the more effective safeguards for any long-range detente agreement is presumably an articulate public opinion that can bring such violations to light.

There are problems attached to a human rights campaign that have rarely been addressed by American civil libertarians. Small groups of terrorists can often provoke oppression out of all reasonable bounds. Human rights violations in

Northern Ireland and Israel, for example, are not an outgrowth of any determination by the British or Israeli governments to suppress free speech so much as a response to threats that endanger civic order. But these democratic regimes have violated human rights.

The number of political prisoners in any given country is not and cannot be the sole criterion as to how democratic, decent or popular a regime is, or how much support it may have from the majority of its citizens. Rumania, for example, the most hardboiled of the East European dictatorships, has fewer political prisoners than either Yugoslavia or Israel. That does not make it a more decent society than the others, both of which face external threats and pressures that Rumania is free of. There are more political prisoners in Israel, i.e., Arab nationalists not convicted of a crime of violence or terrorism, than in any single East European country today. This merely underlines the complexity of the human rights issue.

Deportation of pro-PLO advocates who have violated no law, forcible removal of Arab farmers, settlement of occupied territories are all violations of human rights, and here much American democratic opinion has been silent. The President has not seen fit to address the issue of documented torture in the citadel of liberal democracy, Great Britain, or the McCarthyite wave of anti-radical legislation in West Germany.

This feature of the human rights issue makes it inappropriate for the U.S. unilaterally to wage a campaign. The U.N. and the various multilateral arenas such as Helsinki and Belgrade provide a better

forum, and the issue would be better pressed if it were divorced from its Cold War context. Torture, imprisonment without cause, murder of political opposition, genocide and racist oppression by majorities probably form a core of issues on which broad international agreement can be reached. It is true that these extreme violations are, if anything, more common in the West than in the East, if one extends the term "West" to include its allies and dependents in the Third World.

A human rights campaign for the rights of dissidents should be separated from a defense of the views of these dissidents. Solzenityn's stature as a writer and his rights as a human being must not blind us to his narrow, reactionary, nationalist, apologetics for right-wing oppression. Support for the rights of these dissidents is separate from support for the views of democratic and socialist victims of oppression and terror. The current wave of dissent in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe includes allies of ours, the Medvedevs and the strike support committee in Poland; those who speak for a democratic and socialist society, for the rights of the broad masses.

Socialists, therefore, support the raising of the human rights issue but call for a genuine, universal campaign for human rights, one that links social, economic and political rights. We do not accept either the reactionary proposition that poor people do not care for democratic rights, since a full stomach is presumably more important than human decency, or the notion that the right of a handful of dissident intellectuals to publish and state their views is an adequate measure of a regime's commitment to human rights, more important than preventing mass starvation and misery. The point of a socialist campaign for human rights is precisely to stress that social and political rights are inseparable.

Bogdan Denitch is a member of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee's national board.

This column is an edited version of an article in the Newsletter of the Democratic Left, 853 Broadway, Rm. 617, New York, NY 10003. Subscriptions (10 monthly issues) are \$5.

DIALOG

Anita Bryant is right on two counts—but a threat to all non-conformists

Anita Bryant is mounting a Christian crusade, and like crusades of the past she and her followers believe they face the devil itself. Bryant's favorite quote in rousing her minions is from Leviticus 18, "And if a man sleeps with another man as with a woman they have committed an abomination before the Lord, they shall surely be put to death and their blood shall be upon them."

Homosexuality, she believes, is a disease that has broad ramifications. The legitimization of homosexuals as a minority group, protected in their rights to property and employment, threatens the moral fiber of American society. The ab-

sence of restrictions and fears imposed by a healthy society, Bryant claims, would encourage homosexuals to become brazen proselytizers and "models" for young children. Thus a holy war to "save our children."

The campaign raises several important questions. First, is homosexuality a freely chosen state of being, as Bryant claims? Second, do homosexuals recruit young people either by seducing them or by serving as role models? If homosexuality is genetically determined, or if it is the result of experiences that occur early in life (in which case homosexuals ought not be allowed contact with children below the age of five) then homosexual rights could do no harm.

The truth, though homosexuals are loathe to admit it, is that Anita Bryant is right on two counts:

1) Homosexuality is culturally determined. It is not genetically programmed. Many homosexuals choose this, despite all its drawbacks, because it is emotionally and socially satisfying. A homosexual makes contact with an incredibly broad spectrum of society. It is not unusual for homosexuals to meet and have intimate (not just sexual) contact with the wealthy and powerful, the intellectual and artistic, the poor and working class, as well as ethnic and religious groups.

(2) Homosexuals do serve as role mod-

els for the young, who, impressed by our culture and mystique, often find themselves rejecting the rigid categories of heterosexuality. Both heterosexuality and homosexuality are culturally induced. Most people are capable of both responses. Freedom for homosexuals will increase our visibility, for we are priests, rabbis, police, artists, kindergarten teachers, therapists, social workers, doctors, lawyers, bankers and revolutionaries. And it will increase the incidence of homosexuality in the population. The crucial question is so what? With population expansion believed to be the great threat to the world, wouldn't a large increase in the incidence of homosexuality be a better solution than PIE-GO? (Program for Education in Gynecology and Obstetrics, part of the U.S. AID program for world-wide sterilization of women).

But an increase in homosexuality, it is argued, threatens the moral, religious and cultural foundations of American society. Anita Bryant believes, and God only knows how many millions share her belief, that California is suffering a drought as His punishment for rampant homosexuality in San Francisco.

These are incredible claims that we tend to scoff at, but consider this: against what other group in America could such a campaign be launched? Certainly there

are other groups that share the disabilities of our racist and sexist society, but could reactionaries attack women or blacks as blatantly or viciously and freely as they can homosexuals? The Christian campaign to deny us the legal fiction of equal protection under the law could not be mounted against any other group.

Anita Bryant's stated goals are to create a situation in which homosexuals can be fired as teachers, civil servants, etc. (a condition that already prevails) simply because they are homosexuals. But if homosexuals can be saved through prayer and therapy (and Anita Bryant believes they can) behavior modification is surely the next step.

Once the country has the sweet taste of blood in its mouth the mood will be set to save our children from crime (i.e. Negroes) in the streets and why not save our children from atheism and communism as well. Socialists must realize very quickly that the crusade against homosexuals in the U.S. is as dangerous as the crusade against Jews in Germany. Homosexuals are the most vulnerable group today precisely because we lack the mass support that others have. If workers, women, minorities and socialists don't defend us *en masse* they will follow us into the behavior modification centers.

—Barry Mehler
St. Louis, Mo.

Can a Canadian Socialist find happiness in the NDP?

I read with interest Simon Rosenblum's argument (*ITM*, May 25) that the socialist left in Canada should be working within the New Democratic party (NDP). While I found myself in agreement with much that he had to say, nonetheless there are some crucial differences between us that lead to different conclusions. In short, I believe that the Canadian left should not, and cannot work within the NDP.

FLQ kidnappings. A police-state was set up in all of Canada to deal with a political act that could easily have been handled by the normal procedures of the criminal code and police system. The ruling class readily abandons traditional democracy when it sees fit to do so—even in the face of a small adversity.

The issue that I would like to focus on more directly is whether or not the socialist left in Canada should be working within the NDP, Canada's social democratic labour party. I think we should not be doing this, or that we cannot do this. Why? First, the NDP is only slightly left of the British Labour party. The question is: can the NDP become a socialist party? Historically the answer would seem to be "no" in that social democratic parties generally have not been pushed to the left by their leftwings, although they have tolerated left opposition within their ranks from time to time. In fact, social democratic parties in advanced capitalist countries tend

constraints upon it that make it virtually impossible for a socialist tendency to engage in socialist political organizing or by actually placing certain sections of the party under trusteeship in order to purge the left. The record of CCF/NDP governments in the provinces of British Columbia, Saskatchewan and Manitoba have not been good with the government's stance being anti-labour. (Recently the Manitoba NDP government, for instance, encouraged the passage of scabs through picket lines and prosecuted picketers; and the Ontario section of the NDP engaged in union-busting.) Such actions of the NDP against labour have produced a rising cynicism among workers towards anyone associated with the NDP. (It might also be noted at this point that only one-third of Canada's labour force is unionized, that not all unions are linked to the NDP, that the union leaders who are cannot deliver the labour vote to the NDP, and that these unions are largely branch-plants of American business unions and often a source of political conservatism within the party.)

Furthermore, Rosenblum's advocacy that Canadian socialists work within the NDP has been suggested and tried before with the most recent serious attempt being the "Waffle" group, which started organizing for socialism within the party in 1969. Waffle's manifesto called for sweeping nationalization of the means of production and thorough democratization of Canada's political and economic institutions. The intent was to gain support from local constituencies in order to have the manifesto placed before the Federal party convention that year. Struggle around it would ferret out the socialists in the party and encourage other socialists outside the party to join. A socialist base would be built up within the party either to move the party to the left or to establish a viable base for a new party. This strategy worked to a certain degree in that the Waffle could count on 30 to 40 percent of the delegate vote at various party conventions. However, when the Waffle started to make inroads among organized labor the socialist group was effectively purged from the Ontario section of the party in 1972. It should have taken the fight to the convention itself later that year—where the result would have been the same in the end—but its main leadership decided not to. Instead it broke from the party and set up an independent movement. Subsequently it split into two factions in Ontario and now remains viable only in Saskatchewan.

Thus, the question becomes whether or not the socialist left in Canada *can* work within the NDP and not whether or not it *should*. It seems quite clear that the NDP is prepared to tolerate socialists within its ranks if they remain isolated from one another and do not organize themselves into a politically active and identifiable group.

Paul Stevenson
Sudbury, Ont.
Canada

Simon Rosenblum replies:

First, whether a socialist tendency would be permitted to operate inside the NDP. Social democratic parties in England, France and West Germany contain left opposition forces, and an argument of "Canadian exceptionalism" would be surprising. Stevenson mentions some specifics and in particular the history of the Waffle group. Not only was the Waffle able to obtain 30 to 40 percent of the party membership's support for its various policies but its candidate at the national convention did equally well. The trade union machine in Ontario did indeed purge the Waffle from the provincial section, but the Waffle might well have taken the fight to a national convention and won. As already noted, the Waffle had 30-40

percent support for its policies and leadership. It should not have been all that difficult to find an additional 10-15 percent to simply support its continued existence within the party. But the Waffle leadership had grand illusions of its future outside the NDP and had little desire to fight the Ontario expulsion.

Whether the Canadian left should work inside the NDP is, I believe, a more serious question. Stevenson posits an "iron law of social democracy" in his claim that left forces would be unable to move a social democratic party to the left. It is, of course, true that the track record in such situations is not too good. But nobody else has been bringing in winners either! It might be noted that the French Socialist party has significantly moved to the left from its social democratic past. Success is by no means guaranteed but the possibilities of moving the NDP to the left exist. The Waffle phenomenon has already been mentioned and that success was gained without patient and sustained work within the party. By that I mean that the Waffle did not endeavor to make the local constituency organizations into strong extra-parliamentary units of struggle. That was largely a result of the Waffle's nationalist strategy which seemed to have gathered a substantial amount of "soft" support. In any case, even without the Waffle there is presently visible a strong amount of dissatisfaction within the NDP. At the last leadership convention a strong feminist and left populist candidate received about 40 percent of the vote. On that basis I believe the territory is ripe.

Several left socialist parties have split from well-established west European socialist or communist parties. None of these organizations, varied though they have been, have been able to come near to supplanting the established major parties of the working class. In fact, the typical experience for such parties has been to achieve momentary support only to sink almost without trace. The balance sheet is not encouraging for anyone who wishes to repeat those efforts. As the Waffle experience indicates, a move toward a new socialist party in Canada would probably leave socialist militants talking to themselves.

Finally, Stevenson claims that I overestimate the possibility of a relatively peaceful electoral transformation to socialism. He uses the 1970 War Measures Act in Canada as an example of the typical response of capitalism to leftwing threats. I am not at all persuaded by his argument. The War Measures Act was provoked by FLQ kidnappings and cannot be compared to a situation in which a militant socialist party approaches electoral victory. The current west European experience seems to indicate that militant democratic socialist parties with strong mass support are not likely to be opposed by the armed resistance of capitalism.

In conclusion, electoral politics must be a focal point of continuing importance for the development of widespread socialist understanding. In (English) Canada, the work of transforming the NDP will be arduous and intricate, daunting, indeed. It will need all the democratic socialist forces that can be mustered and it needs them now.

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DIALOG

When socialists started making inroads among the unions they were purged from the party.

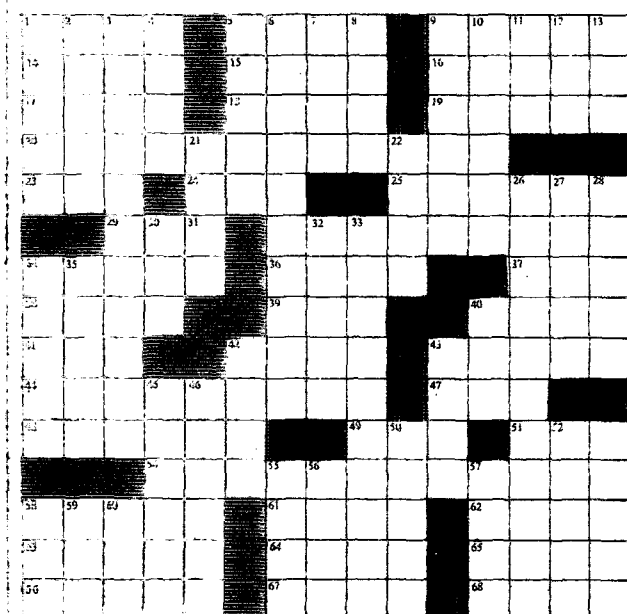
I have no quarrel with socialists utilizing electoral politics as a means to our ends, provided that we are in the process of building a mass democratic base through both electoral and non-electoral methods, and provided that we are prepared to defend our democratic gains with arms at some stage. Simon overstates the democratic traditions of "advanced" Western countries. Recent evidence of this was the invoking of the War Measures Act by the "liberal" democratic Trudeau government in October 1970 to deal with the

to move towards the right, especially when they approach and/or gain office. The records of social democrats in office (not in power, by the way) is disgraceful to say the least. The historical evolution of the CCF (predecessor to the NDP) and of the NDP largely parallels the general development of the social democratic movement elsewhere—to such an extent that I refer to this process as the "iron law of social democracy."

The CCF/NDP has consistently suppressed its leftwing by placing certain

Capitalist Planning

Composed by David Mermelstein



- controls likely result in
- 4 It's a grand one when three are on base
 - 5 Quotidian
 - 6 Demands urgently
 - 7 _____ does it
 - 8 Part of a plant
 - 9 Holiday drink
 - 10 African fly
 - 11 Possessive
 - 12 Steal or take
 - 13 Rds. or Aves.
 - 21 Brown and Nixon
 - 22 Equal, on the Left Bank
 - 26 See 3 Down
 - 27 Secus
 - 28 Lock or curl
 - 30 Want and display
 - 32 Arise: Latin (pres. inf.)
 - 33 Controls the government and economy?
 - 34 _____ Virgo Maria
 - 35 "_____ rested on the seventh day" (Genesis)
 - 40 Metric surface measure
 - 42 Genovese is one: Abbr.
 - 43 Dull
 - 45 Stops
 - 46 Something uncommon
 - 50 "six _____, half-...."
 - 52 Nasty, insinuating
 - 53 Flower with a yellow disk
 - 55 "I'll give _____ piece of my mind."
 - 56 North Caucasian language
 - 57 Roman liquid measure
 - 58 Theorem ending
 - 59 Hindu goddess of splendor
 - 60 Friend in Nancy

answers to last week's puzzle:

SIM STIC RICK CAT
UICA TAT OBI ICE
BIGHAM BOYCOTT
IRICA JULIA
LUNG TIPS ACATS
BOBENS ACTU
FINE RETRE LETAS
TRAP TETOP
EAR DRAPES
TRAP TETOP
CIRLED HIP LETS
AYO RUE ASS SEE
EVE BMS TIE TEX

Across

- 1 Maximal
- 9 Passes away
- 9 Luckin
- 14 Printing style: Abbr.
- 15 One of a Latin trio
- 16 Mint's garment
- 17 Worn in the forum
- 18 _____ rest
- 19 Microbes
- 20 Capitalists want this high enough to keep wages low
- 23 Post
- 24 Scottish city on the birth of Clyde
- 25 Order to dig
- 29 What Quasius was not
- 31 Start of Kumbles like collision, or Pirie's
- 34 N.Y. college, et al.
- 36 Soviet river
- 37 Suffer for greed or colon
- 38 Slaughter
- 39 Nothing
- 40 Dramatic tennis shots
- 41 O'Connell's tool
- 42 Bears of a family
- 43 Something to do to a wound

- 44 Books about American cities, its economy, culture, etc., begin more frequently with these words
- 47 Thing: Latin
- 48 Trojan hero, son of Venus
- 49 _____ man (all)
- 51 Jolson's real first name
- 54 20 Across is high as a consequence of his decisions
- 58 Prefix: resembling
- 61 Prefix: idea
- 61 Category of loan that N.Y. banks have lost billions on
- 63 Robert _____: Irish hero, 1778-1803
- 64 Bearing
- 65 One of Duchamp's descended a staircase
- 66 _____ Miller by James
- 67 French deed
- 68 Imitator

Down

- 1 Fitness exercise
- 2 Make amends
- 3 What capitalist economic

LIFE IN THE U.S.

Brooklynites fight for firehouse



The People's Firehouse Brigade: at left, "Chief" Adam Veneski.

Brooklyn residents fought back when the city decided to remove a firehouse from their fire-plagued neighborhood.

By Charlotte Dennett
 BROOKLYN—There's something eerie about Brooklyn's Northside. One gets the sense of trespassing into a ghost town, knowing that somewhere behind broken windows and charred storefronts someone is watching with hostile eyes, resentful of this intrusion into the decaying remains of a once-vibrant community.

Admittedly, the Northside bears none of the scars of the fire-ravaged South Bronx. Many buildings are still intact. But the vacant lots filled with the rubble of demolished homes, the occasional carcasses of deserted tenements and the lonely signposts, their paint peeling, flapping quietly in the wind—all suggest that this is a neighborhood marked for death.

The atmosphere changes, however, near Wythe Avenue and North 9th Street. A bright red door, freshly painted, glares out from its drab surroundings. Above it reads the sign, "Utility Company No. 1." Across the street members of three generations mingle outside a converted storefront plastered with posters and announcements. This is their new meeting house, and the people who are about to enter it are the heroes and heroines of the People's Firehouse.

Inside sits Adam Veneski, his heavy frame straddling a chair, his upright hand making a point with a smoking cigar. "Fire-chief" Adam, recently chosen Man-of-the-Year by this largely Polish, working class community, responds warmly to outsiders who show an interest in their struggle. "We don't care who you are," he says, smiling as he looks you straight in the face, "as long as you help."

Closing of the local firehouse.

It all began in November 1975 when Northside's firehouse was closed by City Hall, ostensibly the victim of budget cuts. Then something happened that few people would expect from this conservative, working class community.

Two hundred people, mostly senior citizens, showed up one day, walked into the firehouse and peacefully occupied it, refusing to let the police remove their fire engine.

In the months that followed the engine remained idle but the people did not.

They formed a neighborhood Action

Committee and enlisted the support of retired firemen who supplied them with enough technical know-how to confront the city with a case for the return of their firehouse.

But tragedy outraced them. On the afternoon of April 15, 1976, four buildings on Bedford and 4th Street burst into flames, minutes after two youths were seen fleeing the area. Only blocks from the scene stood the People's Firehouse, closed and immobilized. Even closer to the blaze stood two fire hydrants, but they were inoperative, their bolts sawed neatly off from the top. This was the work of professionals with heavy sophisticated saws and a lot of determination. (30 percent of the neighborhood's hydrants have suffered identical mutilation.)

Sixteen families lost everything in the three-alarm fire. Early the next morning 70 angry and frustrated Northsiders swarmed onto the Brooklyn-Queens Expressway, blocking traffic and demanding the return of their firehouse. When that didn't work, the Action Committee marched into Manhattan and personally challenged the two officials who had ordered their firehouse closed: Fire Commissioner John T. O'Hagan and Mayor Abraham Beame. Their pleas brought polite smiles, but little else.

A victory—of sorts.

The war went on. Four months later the Action Committee went back to Manhattan, armed this time with explosive facts. They were ready to deal with a panel of fire department experts on equal terms.

They presented their documents: excerpts from a secret fire department report by RAND Institute and an attached assessment by the Academy of Sciences that RAND's "computer model" for reduced fire protection was at best seriously flawed and at worst downright dangerous.

The response from the panel was astonishment, but again, little more.

By now, one year had gone by and still the Northsiders fought back. This time they decided they would drive their message home to their opponents—literally. On Nov. 28, 80 residents piled into 20 cars and formed a motorcade that took them to the front lawn of Fire Commis-

sioner O'Hagan's private residence.

That was enough for City Hall. Beame and O'Hagan agreed to a compromise: the conversion of former Engine Co. 212 into "Utility Co. #1," which meant an engine and the restoration of 25 percent of the community's original fire service.

It was a significant but short-lived victory. Suspensions mounted in the community when Utility Co. #1 proved curiously quiescent, even within its own restricted area. Investigation revealed that the new company had not been programmed into the computerized dispatcher system. On demand, corrections were made, but even then the "utility" engine was forced to depend on an alarm system that was faulty and was restricted to answering only those alarms that were voiced in to a dispatcher; No-voice alarms, which are just as common, were to be answered by a regular engine company farther away.

Angered over what seemed like a deliberate betrayal, the Action Committee vowed to set up its own monitoring system—one that would analyze the movements of fire engines in the immediate and surrounding area. Commissioner O'Hagan, predictably, would have none of this; he ordered no monitoring allowed. His message was clear: give up and go home.

Facing the political machine.

O'Hagan's messages, like those of the mayor, also had a way of filtering through many channels; often, they re-emerged in the community through the local mouthpieces of the Democratic party, particularly the Pioneer Club and its sister organization, the Northside Community Development Council (NCDC).

In recent weeks trouble has taken on a new complexion, expressed by the addition of a huge American flag on the back wall of the neighborhood's meeting house. The stars and stripes are the Northsiders' answer to a red-baiting campaign against them, championed by one of the oldest bosses of the local machine: Nich Polanski, captain of the Pioneer Club and president of the NCDC.

In a series of articles in a local paper controlled by his allies, Polanski accused the People's Firehouse of "infiltration by outsiders" and a "conspiracy to take over

the Northside." At stake was Polanski's control over the board of the NCDC, up for election on May 12th. Polanski's articles and more deadly whispers brought a record turnout at the open election meeting and a trampling of 30 candidacies running on the People's Firehouse slate.

Planned "shrinkage"

This came as no surprise. The People's Firehouse brigade has long since detected the odor of political corruption settling over the community, and they have not had to search far to see why. The deteriorating state of their own neighborhood and a Feb. 3, 1967, copy of the *New York Times* provided some clues. "Planned Shrinkage for Slums" read one article's headline.

In it the city's Housing and Development administrator, Roger Starr, explained that "there are some areas that are shrinking in population, and our policy should accelerate this shrinkage."

"It's not a question of pushing people around," he added defensively, "but it might include such steps as no longer spending housing rehabilitation funds in those slum areas like the South Bronx and Brownsville."

Starr made no mention of Brooklyn's Northside, although it had all the symptoms of a terminal case. For some time the banks have refused to invest in the area, and insurance companies have jacked up the premiums on rapidly deteriorating property.

Recent years have also witnessed the removal of a precinct house (1970), destruction of 92 dwelling units for factory expansion (1973, full expansion still pending), reductions in budgets for a baby clinic and local hospital (1975) and closure of the firehouse.

With such loss of protection, people had indeed moved out, or rather, fled for their lives.

But what was in store for Starr's "depopulated" areas? "They will remain vacant," the official explained, "until new land uses present themselves."

Possible oil and gas development.

New land uses? The Northsiders looked around them, and gradually the fog lifted. Not far away was the Greenpoint Oil Refinery. Nearby was the Brooklyn Oil and Gas facility. And the waterfront stood on a stone's throw away.

"This is just an hypothesis," explained Action Committee member Fred Ringler, "but maybe the oil companies want to buy this land cheap and develop it with oil depots and storage facilities. After all, they're supposed to be drilling soon for offshore oil."

As hypotheses go, this one may have merit. In early May Mayor Beame and a "high level New York City promotion team" flew to Houston. There, they argued their case before high-powered oil tycoons: New York City—or certain parts of it—was the perfect base for petroleum development and service companies supporting the offshore operations. "We want you. We need you," Beame told 250 oilmen. "We'll do everything possible to make it pleasant for you to locate in New York."

And where, exactly, did they have in mind? Possibly in South Bronx, Brownsville, or the Northside of Brooklyn, according to well-informed sources within the Beame administration.

Two weeks after Beame's visit the *New York Times* announced that a "citizens committee" (including representatives from Brooklyn Oil and Gas and the Real Estate Board of New York) had been set up in Brooklyn to "promote the old Brooklyn Navy Yard as a base for offshore exploration."

Charlotte Dennett is a free lance writer in New York.

SPORTS

Fans irate over Seaver trade

By Fred Siegel
New York—These Bastards! You don't have to think back to the '60s—those dark days when the Giants and Dodgers deserted the city—for a situation comparable to the Mets unloading Tom "Landfill" Seaver.

In the past year NYC also lost the football Giants to New Jersey, Dr. J to Philadelphia, and Broadway Joe Namath to Los Angeles. A cornucopia of collectible good memories snuffed out like candles in the wind.

For many fans, on its stomach, a football team travels on its pitcher and the Mets have been traveling on Tom Seaver for more than a decade. It was Seaver more than any other man who was responsible for the halcyon days of 1969 when the Mets brought home the World Championship to a strife-torn city.

Seaver, a three-time winner of the Cy Young award and probably the best pitcher in baseball today, wasn't traded—a trade involves the exchange of equals—he was untraded, dumped by the Mets management. Management, which felt it wasn't receiving sufficient respect from its star pitcher, sent him to Cincinnati, not for one of the Reds' innumerable sluggers but for a pitcher with a 3 and 7 record, a utility man and a minor leaguer.

The key man in the affair was the chairman of the Mets board, M. Donald Grant.

Earlier this year Grant was instrumental in nearly driving the football Jets—owners at the city-owned Shea Stadium—out of town. Having failed with the Jets, he turned his efforts back to sabotaging his own team, a team that has gotten progressively worse since it walked into a fluke pennant back in '73.

Inept management.

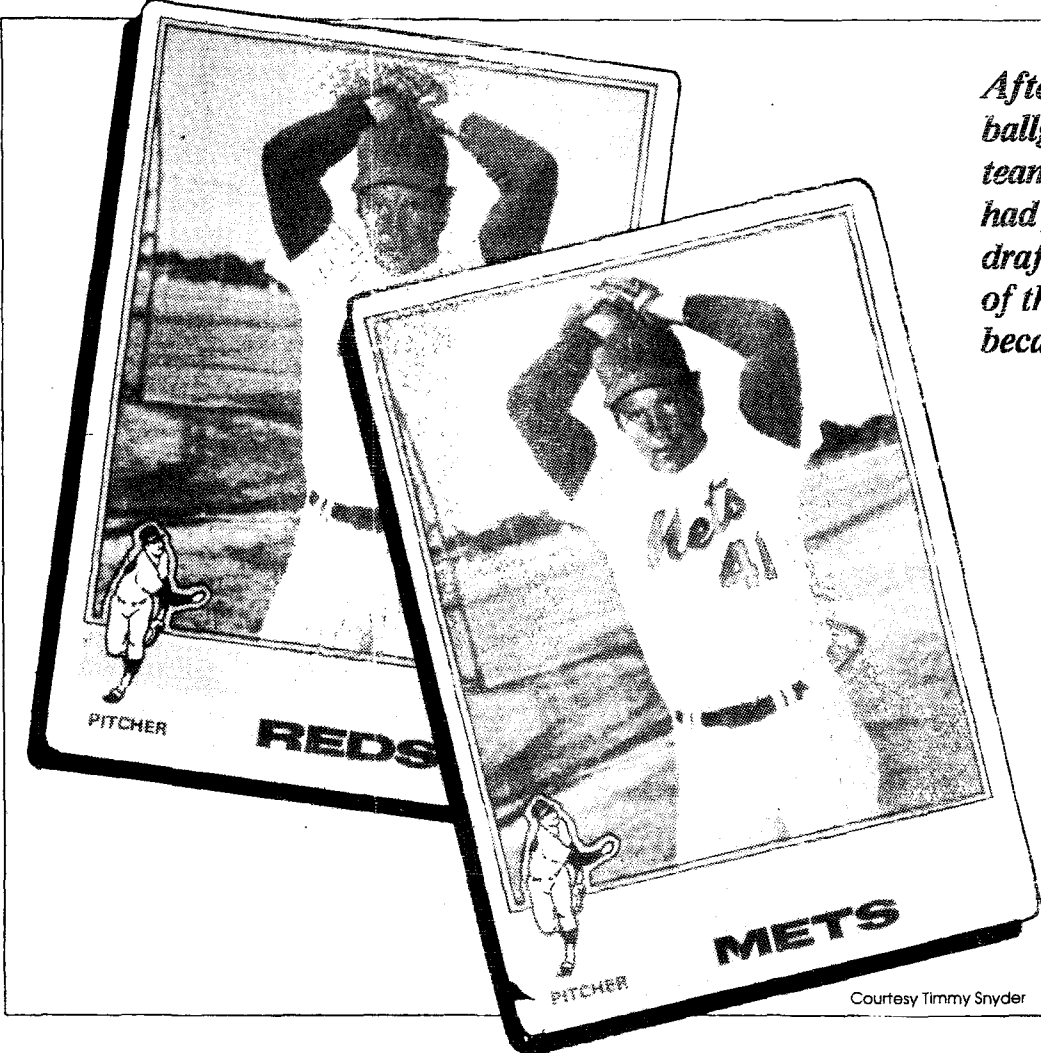
The conflict between the board chairman and the star pitcher was supposedly about money. Seaver claimed that he was underpaid and he wanted his \$225,000 contract renegotiated. But the deal over money could have been settled. The real clash came out of Seaver's frustrations and dashed hopes.

After years of losing close ballgames because of the team's non-existent hitting, Seaver had become openly critical of the team's management—a management that had forsaken the free agent draft and traded away many of the team's best players while getting little in return. (Does anyone remember who the Mets got for Kasty Staub?)

In his frustration Seaver, who showed an early penchant for independent thinking when he openly criticized the Vietnam war, breached the corporate etiquette by doing what no good employee does: he went public with his complaints about the team's inept management.

Grant, a club, backslap gray sort of man, the kind of guy who talks with commas, responded in the only way he knew how—with formality. His mind stuck at a crazy angle, Grant began issuing position statements on the nature of greed, the sanctity of contracts and the dangers of anarchy. He'd talk about anything but the hapless condition of his last-ditch team.

Grant was supported in his educational campaign by Dick Young, the influential sportswriter for the *New York Daily News*. Young, who thinks of himself as the kind of hard-nosed reporter who'd belly up to God if he had to ask him a tough question, has a reputation as an honest though belligerent reporter. In the early years of the Mets he had a grand time deriding the team as a feast for fools, with the management serving up the top jokes. But then Grant hired Young's son-in-law for the Mets public relations department and Young began cooing when he wrote about management, while writing snarling attacks on that ingrate Tom Seaver.



After years of losing close ballgames because of the team's management, which had forsaken the free agent draft and traded away many of the best players, Seaver became openly critical.

Outburst of hostility.

Sportswriter Young and honcho Grant, of course, aren't the only ones with questionable relationships in N.Y. baseball circles. Yankee head man George Steinbrenner has a gaggle of unsavory friends in high places. He was convicted of making illegal contributions to the Nixon campaign and has been involved in a number of questionable "deals" with former Bronx Democratic chairman Pat Cunningham. He and his Yankees also ripped the city off for millions of dollars in a city-financed Yankee stadium restoration.

While Steinbrenner won't win any popularity contests, he hasn't come in for the widespread public contempt and hostility Grant generated by getting rid of Seaver. It's one thing to mess around with tax dollars—everyone up there tries

to do that—but it's another to trade away a man who's given us all so many good memories; that's seen as a genuine abuse of power, and the fans hate Grant for it.

There has been an enormous outburst of hostility against Grant. He has been subject to endless verbal abuse and even some threats on his life. One of the kinder comments came from my friend Mondo, who told my brother, "There are two things I like about Grant—his face." My brother, a less subtle fellow, put it this way: "M. Donald Grant (no one forgets to use the M) belongs in baseball like a bermuda onions belongs in a banana split." Not everyone is so restrained. As my aunt Ruth put it: "That son-of-a-bitch they ought to...."

I suggested to her that there was no use in belly-aching since there was no

end in sight for this sort of nonsense. No end, that is, unless it's made into a political issue.

Jimmy Breslin and others have suggested municipal ownership of teams. That's a good idea, but for the time being, I'd just like to see someone in the mayoral race here pick up the issue of the owners' responsibility to the fans.

In '69, the year of the championship "Amazin' Mets," the goodwill generated by Seaver and his cohorts helped waft John Lindsay into office. Maybe this time around another smart candidate—are you listening Bella—will make the sweetheart relationship between the city and its sports moguls a matter for public debate.

Fred Siegel is an historian who lives in Brooklyn. He worked his way through college by shooting pool.

DO YOU HAVE 10 FRIENDS



who should be reading
IN THESE TIMES?

1. name _____
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Herb Kohl:

Persuasion over propaganda

Continued from page 24.

petence where you are able to tackle what you want: that's the crucial thing about the empowerment. A lot of kids spend their whole life avoiding stuff that they only dream about when they're high.

What the community wants.

How do you recommend implementing some of your ideas in public schools?

The first thing you have to do is be around the community a while. Then you need someone who can identify some serious and not personally ambitious, not hustling people—parents in particular—and broach the idea: what happens if you can hire your own teachers and control the money for your own schools? What would the school be? What wouldn't it be? Who would you keep? Who wouldn't you keep? Are you interested in finding out what other people are doing?

What I don't expect is that every community would want to define schools of the type I or my community might want. Also, you don't throw money at people first.

In a capitalist society, money is the thing you deal with last, because the people who come out if you say you're going to have money include all the hustlers in the neighborhood and in the education business.

You ask what are the worst things about the schools? What can we change with no more money? If you've got a bad teacher, then you don't need any money to correct it. You either re-educate the person to do the job well or else you find another place for them in the world, because they don't belong in your community.

What were the things the communities you've worked with thought were the worst things about the schools?

That the teachers hated the kids. That the teachers looked upon them [parents and community people] as less than human. The third one, which is obvious, is that despite all this superiority, the teachers still couldn't do anything with their kids. I don't have to go much farther than that.

Libertarians.

Along with the more consciously socialist trends among educators, there are libertarians and those interested in developing human potential. How do you situate these different groups?

For a long time I was quite critical of the libertarian free schools that [Jonathan] Kozol talks about, but a lot of those that hang loose as schools have virtues that none of us expected. The intensive communities that developed these libertarian schools created important learning experiments in small-scale technology.

That's where experiments in solar heating, recycling building materials, creation of new environments and the use of ecologically sound principles developed. E.F. Schumacher, author of *Small is Beautiful*, became one of the central figures. That's what the kids learned.

This has now fed back to some of the things in the public sector as things come together in a rather unexpected way.

The human potential movement is totally different. That is in effect the purest capitalist-oriented people who are concerned with their own personal development.

The blessing is that it doesn't work. People go through it and they're not liberated. The sense of it is to develop your own inner spirit, relate to the universal spirit, but no mention of any collective

spirit or the fact that there's oppression. It's just another high. People tend to trip from one form of personal fulfillment to another.

But there is a wing of that human potential movement that has become social. And, after all, meditation is very useful. It is sane to eat well and not poison yourself. And a certain kind of pacing is healthy. A segment has become influenced by people like Freire and Schumacher, connecting up with a much more political tradition of change.

What to do.

One of your themes is that schools can't reform society, but at the moment there are a limited number of movements for social change. What do you think radical and socialist teachers can be doing now?

First, your political activity doesn't have to be confined to education. One of the things we've found most effective is to make contact with educational subcommittees of state legislatures. Get to know local politicians. Infiltrate as many boards and panels as you can. We've found that if you really want to do something it's even more important to reach the legislative analyst for some Congressman than the Congressman himself.

Also, the weakest part of the system, which is also the strongest in some ways, is the county. County boards of education, county supervisors, county assessors—those are central jobs.

I ran for county school board. There was an announcement in the paper that a seat on the Alameda County school board was vacant and to date there had been no filings. So I said, "Shit, I can't lose on that one." It was the day before the deadline.

Little did I know that among the 16 people in line was the person who was supposed to win and in fact who did win because of a certain apathy and arrogance on the part of the left.

I lost by 200 votes. The city of Berkeley, which has about 85,000 to 100,000 people, was outvoted by the city of Piedmont, a small incorporated upper middle class community, by virtue of Piedmont having an 85 percent turnout and Berkeley having a six percent turnout.

But I discovered a number of interesting things. The county school board has a budget of \$7 million. It runs all the juvenile prison facilities in the county. It takes care of all special education. It channels state funds. The county has to sign every local school budget. If it doesn't, the budget has to be redrawn.

Support all education workers.

Also, it always helps if people go out on strike to support them. It's very crucial to make genuine personal contacts with all the workers in the schools—the bus driv-

ers, the custodians, the lunchroom attendants, the cooks, the secretaries, the warehousemen. (Two and a half years ago the Berkeley teachers union did not support a strike by teachers aides, some bus drivers and custodians, Kohl explained.) Last year the teachers struck. The bus drivers and aides all went to work. They were the ones who could have shut the system down. The teachers were dealt a crushing blow. Hundreds were laid off, benefits were destroyed.

An enormously important thing is to struggle for open faculty meetings, to have custodians, secretaries and aides be party to school meetings and discussions. Some progressive teachers ask, if that happens, maybe we should all get paid the same. Well, yeah, I'm not so sure they shouldn't.

The other thing is to work in the class to design experiences that emphasize cooperation instead of competition or involve revising kids' attitudes toward the results of competition. A lot of people think the only experience should be collective. I don't. The spirit within which the competition or contest takes place makes a difference. The winner and loser should still love each other and not use the result to judge each other's moral character.

Children can't be propagandized.

Also, you can encourage people to admire whatever someone does well.

People should not think that because you're trying to have something cooperative that you're not trying to have some excellence or competence. You want what competence you have to be in the service of the group and not just one individual.

Children can't be propagandized. They have to be persuaded on the basis of what they feel and what they think. I've seen some leftwing teachers who want immediately to teach kids socialism. You cannot teach kids socialism. Kids can learn, teach themselves, to behave in a loving, cooperative way with each other, if you set up the situation.

But you can't tell them socialism means this is what we do and capitalism means this is what we do and this one is better. That's like the same textbooks that they're not learning from now anyway. That's why teaching well and developing attitudes in the classroom conducive toward cooperative confidence is much more important than taking the right line with kids. Therefore one has to work very, very hard at becoming an excellent teacher.

That's part of my work. What are the things that can be set up, the experiences made available, that encourage this kind of attitude? They have to involve pleasure. They have to involve challenge. They have to involve exploration of the world. They have to involve some honest interchange between you and your students.

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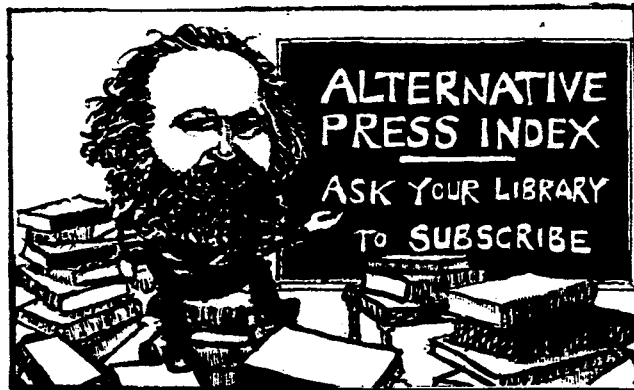
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BOOKS

Can the U.S. achieve peaceful capitalism?

THE PERMANENT WAR ECONOMY

By Seymour Melman
Simon & Schuster, 1974, \$10.
Paperback 1976, \$4.95

Here is a treasure-trove of facts for those who view ending the arms race as a step toward a new America. But it is written to appeal to readers who may desire only to preserve the old America that long has led the world in industrial know-how, efficiency and economic productivity.

Written by an insider (Seymour Melman is head of Columbia University's department of industrial engineering), the book is a guided tour by an expert through the workings of a prototype military firm and the hierarchical system by which the men in control—the "state managers"—operate to enlarge their power to the mutual benefit of themselves and the military industrialists.

Military industries are directly fed by pipeline from the U.S. Treasury. The spigot is easily turned on by appeals to "national security" and the need to preserve a system that provides many jobs. These firms operate free from the constraints that force ordinary businesses to minimize costs and seek more efficient operating methods.

To a military firm "higher costs mean more activity, more facilities, more employees, more cash flow, and a larger cost base for calculating profits." The result is a "pervasive pattern of inefficient operation at all levels," but virtually boundless subsidies make these firms "failure-proof." The evidence of this makes hilarious reading.

At the controls of the military economy, making the rules and coordinating what is "surely the largest industrial central office in the United States—probably in the entire world" is a set of appointive government officials headed by the Assistant and Deputy Secretaries of Defense. They "comprise a board of directors...with about 20,000 industrial divisions whose president is, functionally, the Secretary of Defense and whose chairman of the board is, functionally, the President of the United States."

For more than 30 years now, the U.S. has encouraged this military economy to grow alongside of and intertwined with its civilian sector, until now the military dominates. The U.S. is a military state capitalism; and as the chiefs of the military economy and of government are one, power over the economy and over domestic,

foreign and military policy is concentrated to a degree hitherto unknown in the U.S.

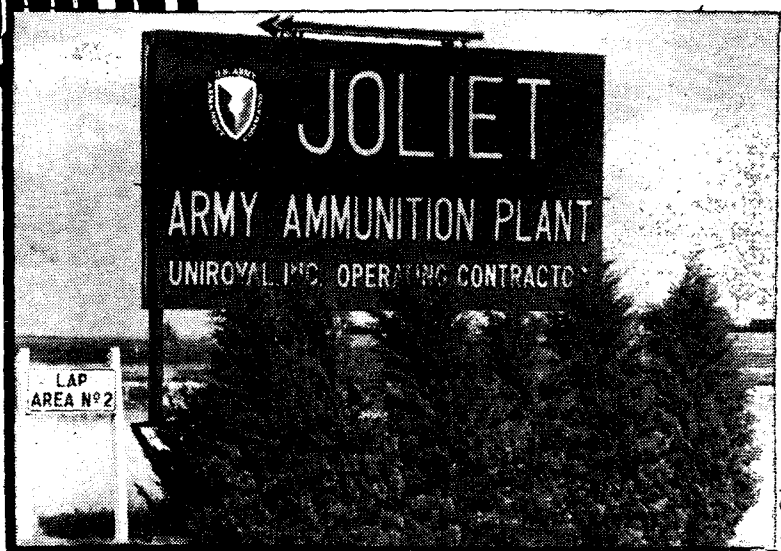
The very success of this American variant of capitalism has produced effects, largely unintended, that are calamitous. Melman's book, I believe, is the first to trace the process back, step by step, to its source.

It begins by debunking the myth that war brings prosperity—the prevailing ideology basic for commitment to a permanent war economy.

Generalizing from World War II, which ended the Great Depression, Americans have come to believe that a military panacea can work permanently, and have been blinded to what has been foregone by concentrating on war production: e.g., the forced neglect of the underpinnings of economic prosperity (transportation, communications systems and power production) and our failure to invest the research talent and capital needed for the continual upgrading of civilian productive efficiency.

American goods are losing out to those of Japan and Europe where civilian research and investment have been sustained. U.S. corporations have responded to more appealing growth prospects abroad with a flight of capital unprecedented in any nation's history. As many as 4,000,000 job opportunities have been exported to foreign workers during the same period that 4,000,000 Americans were registered as unemployed.

This also has contributed to a



developing trade deficit and to the collapse of the value of the dollar. In 1971, the U.S. government initiated a series of moves to speed up American productivity, making government patents public, underwriting new high-technology enterprises and pushing other similar programs. But in March 1973 this approach to the problem was deliberately abandoned. U.S. state managers chose instead to close the trade gap by selling arms and agricultural produce abroad, while pressing Japan to slow down its penetration into U.S. markets. This decision "traded off renewal of the main productive assets of the economy for the operation of the military system."

As a result, our major cities are in shambles, prices are soaring beyond reach, the young, old, sick, and poor are deprived of services they need.

War economy proponents argue that the massive arms budget insures the country's defense capability.

But the U.S. long ago passed the limits needed for defense. Military power has limits; and Melman devotes a chapter to refuting a long list of assumptions beneath the Pentagon's make-believe world in which "military superiority" still has meaning.

Melman wrote his book, he says, as a stimulus and a practical guide to change from a militarized to a civilian economy. His

last chapters analyze the economic problems involved in such a change, assessing the feasibility and difficulty of each step. This section should be a bible for those brave souls committed to economic conversion.

The author warns that he holds no rosy-hued view of America's future prospects. He does believe, however, that given public understanding of the major causes of our country's deterioration, it may be possible to force a political decision to renounce the war economy. We then might regain economic health by planned, locally controlled but federally assisted conversion to civilian production. Such an effort would require political-economic actions, large and small, on a heroic scale, a movement dedicated to "a new political economy based on democracy, rather than hierarchy, in the workplace and the rest of society."

The book avoids challenging the capitalist system as such, instead pointing out weaknesses the author finds in certain Marxian shibboleths. Nevertheless, one who rejects the profit motive as the mainspring of economic activity can find here a wealth of facts to buttress the case.

—Frances W. Herring

Frances W. Herring is the author of *The Development and Control of Nuclear Industry in California* and is active in the peace and ecology movements.

Whatever your pleasure—he's got a little list

SIMONS' LIST BOOK

By Howard Simons
Simon & Schuster, N.Y.,
paperback \$5.95

The cover of this outsize paperback sets out the publisher's claims: that it is a guide to the diversity of America and a compendium of lists of just about everything within it.

The author's introduction explains that the book grew out of a 9,500-mile, seven-week family vacation in a station wagon, most of it unplanned. The managing editor of the *Washington Post* (who assigned Woodward and Bernstein to investigate Watergate), his wife and three of their daughters zig-zagged across the continent visiting every point of interest they gleaned from reference books, Chamber of Commerce advertising and chats with the "locals." They also kept track of such things as birds, beers, brands of gasoline, box cars and battlefields—and a number of things that do not alliterate.

The suggestion is that families engaged in similar explorations can get as good or better results by carrying only *Simons' List Book*. It has a geographical index in which—to pick a random example—visitors to Kansas can find eight entries of state-wide interest, four specific references under Abilene, three each under Kansas City, Wichita and Manhattan, two under Lawrence, and one each under Osawatomie, Dodge City, Topeka and 11 other

cities. Running them all down may be the scenario for an interesting and fairly extended vacation in the Sunflower State. (There are, incidentally, lists that tell you the official nickname, flower, bird, and tree for all 50 states.)

For compulsive list-makers and record-keepers there is a further usefulness for this extraordinary collection of data. One can check (and also annotate in the margin) each experience or sighting under a number of headings. Bird-watchers will find the Simons' list exhaustive, if not exhausting.

There are also lists of Pulitzer prize-winners in all the categories for all the years the prizes have been given. There are lists of Simons' choice of the works of an impressive number of American writers, in case you're having difficulty selecting a library for reading on your vacation. There are lists of regional theaters, music festivals, horse shows, fly-fishing streams and famous buildings, restaurants and stores.

It is, obviously, tempting to make lists of what the Simons have or have not made lists of. (Mushrooms are missing.) Forseeing this, the author has provided a few "expandables" to be used by the reader. Our favorite is "Catchall America" which begins with the Black Hills and ends with the Wall Drug,—starting and ending this overview of the country in South Dakota. And why not?

—J.S.

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FILM

Plea for children's liberation

THE LITTLE GIRL WHO LIVES DOWN THE LANE

Screenplay by Laird Koenig
(based on his novel)
Directed by Nicolas Gessner
With Jodie Foster, Martin Sheen,
Alexis Smith, Scott Jacoby
and Mort Shuman

Hollywood is periodically obsessed with the evil child concept. Films involving patricidal siblings, precocious devils, smiling innocently to conceal the blackness of their hearts have become a hot and profitable commodity. The theme is simple enough: possessed by some inexplicable and diabolical force, the child turns monster, terrorizing its poor parents until they (or some corresponding authority figure) resolve to destroy it. It is an occult version of the generation gap

with the child as the heavy.

But contrary to the promotional hype, *The Little Girl Who Lives Down the Lane* (adapted by Laird Koenig from his own book) is not another bad seed saga. Koenig has turned the concept on its head: the world of adults is the fiend in this plea for children's liberation, thinly disguised as a horror flick.

Jodie Foster, who gave such a remarkable performance as the child prostitute in *Taxi Driver*, gives another one as Wren Jacobs, an unusually self-sufficient 13-year-old, living in an isolated country house near a small New England town, presumably with her father, who is a poet and whom no one has seen since soon after the lease was signed.

Wren doesn't attend school ("School is stultifying"), stays

home a lot listening to Chopin and studying Hebrew. Groceries for the menage are ordered by phone and delivered. Her only contact with the village is an occasional trip to the bank to cash some travelers' checks.

This apparently placid pattern is shattered by a visit from Mrs. Hallitt (Alexis Smith), the owner of the house who is used to dropping in on her tenants uninvited. She is an anti-Semitic adult-chauvinist and mother of the film's other antagonist—the local child-molester, menacingly played by Martin Sheen.

Wren has two defenders in her war of resistance against the Hallitts: Mario (Scott Jacoby), a 17-year-old polio victim who is a self-taught magician; and Officer Miglioriti (Mort Shuman), a likeable, if not very effective cop who tries to protect Wren from the attentions of young Hallitt.

The plot is a bit incredible, but it makes its point: that ours is a society that views children as raw material to be processed through schooling and other forms of indoctrination into "finished" adults, rather than as persons of intrinsic dignity with attendant rights. Young people who rebel against the machinery of socialization are frequently labeled "incorrigible" or "emotionally disturbed" and shut away in juvenile prisons or psychiatric hospitals without even the formality of a trial.

Koenig's message hovers over the action like the music of Chopin, which is always on Wren's record player. Both provide obligations to what is ostensibly a mildly shocking film about "the unspeakable secret" of a little girl who lives down the lane all alone.

—George A. Dunn

George A. Dunn, a bakery porter in Florissant, Mo., blames the American educational system for the fact that he can't spell, and thanks Eugene V. Debs for the fact that he is literate.



Above: Jodie Foster as the little girl.

Below: Child-molester Martin Sheen on the brink of extinction.

I look forward to reading *In These Times* each week—it has articles and insights I can find nowhere else. Even though there are many new publications, I get a special kick out of this one.

—Studs Terkel

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Harry Bridges retires, but the Longshoreman's union faces new challenges, Gay Pride around the country, Andy

Young and American foreign policy in Africa, and a report on the Histadrut elections in Israel.

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Double Trouble dogs *The Deep*

Sea saga with sexist/racist overtones

THE DEEP

By Peter Benchley

Bantam Books, paperback \$2.25

No one pretends that Peter Benchley's enormously successful novel, *The Deep*, is a serious literary venture. It is clearly a device of commerce rather than literature. Yet, *The Deep* is important for it is a reflection of and perhaps a shaper of mass culture.

On one level, the book is a simple adventure story, the struggle of good vs. evil in the exotic setting of the reefs off Bermuda. It is also the story of the education of its hero, David Sanders, by a wiser hero figure, Romer Treece. Sanders learns from Treece that it is foolish to take unnecessary risks merely to test his manhood,

may happen:

"I wonder..." Gail said.

"What?"

"I'm ashamed to say it, but it's true. What if this man turns out to be black?"

Relieved to find that the government representative is white (and therefore supposedly safe), they soon learn he will do nothing to foil the villains. This gives Treece a chance to teach the young couple another lesson: "Paper-pushers can't figure me out. All they understand is bull shit and politics, which amounts to the same thing." Conventional politics, Benchley implies, offer no solutions to important problems.

And revolutionary politics are no better. The black arch-villain, Cloche, talks like a revolutionary but is not a communist. According to Treece,

He spouts a good Marxist line — "from each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs," and all that. I think what he really wants is to set up some island kingdom. He won't call it that, of course. It'll be the Peo-

may make a million dollars saying it. How is that for a Hollywood ending?"

—Arthur Zilversmit

Arthur Zilversmit is a student of popular culture and an avid reader of paperback adventures.

Fin flick with sexist/racist overtones

THE DEEP

Screenplay by Peter Benchley,

Tracy Keenan Wynn

Starring Robert Shaw, Jacqueline

Bisset, Nick Nolte

Directed by Peter Yates

The Deep is another Hollywood attempt to flash its technical agility and to overwhelm us with spectacle. The promotional material reads like Ripley's Believe It or Not. "The cast and company made 9,895 dives, at depths of 60-100 feet in four oceans, spent 10,780 hours beneath the surface, consumed 1,054,000 cubic feet of



Above: Jacqueline Bisset about to descend.

Below, left: Louis Gosset, "the most intelligent character."

The director: '*The Deep* deserves a tidy ending.'

trouble begins. We learn that two ships; one a WWII medical supply vessel (the *Goliath*) with a cargo of 98,000 ampules of morphine, and the other, a late-19th century Spanish ship with a unique and exotic jewel cache, have been lodged on the same reef.

Many divers have been lost exploring the *Goliath* in the hopes of retrieving and selling its cargo of morphine ampules. Our clean, young, middle class couple have a healthy motive. They want the Spanish gold. But their good motives are interfered with by a band of corrupt (albeit clever) black "natives," willing to do anything for the drugs.

This crude racism is interwoven with the film's inherent sexism. In a scene that plays on deep-seated racial/sexual fantasies of power and domination, the bad black guys capture the good white guys. When they get to searching the woman, hoping to find the ampule of morphine, they put a knife to her boyfriend's neck (to literalize his impotence in the situation). The camera takes a long erotic stare as one of her captors slowly spreads her thighs to "search" for the goods.

This scene is so crude in its sensationalist effects as to be almost laughable in the same way that the simulated voodoo rape, with black man in white paint and feathers, becomes a parody of itself.

Jacqueline Bisset, as Gail Berke, is a replay of Jane in the old Tarzan films. She is either being saved from exotic monsters of the natural world, or from evil dark men who appear in the night. Or being photographed close-up in her wet T-shirt-diving outfit, or getting undressed with her back to the camera.

The movie, which people expected to be a second *Jaws*, restrains its sharks (although there are some close calls), but finally the natural world *does* intervene to right the balance. The moray eel, who has loomed in the shadows throughout the film, gets to eat the head of one of the bad black guys. The good white folk (who have, by the way, continuously put their desire for gold before human life) are allowed to triumph.

The people who promote the film tell us: "One word above all characterized the production of *The Deep*—reality." I'd like to suggest one that characterizes its point of view—reactionary.

—Carol Becker

Carol Becker is a free lance writer in Chicago.

IN THESE TIMES interviewed director Peter Benchley on the making of the film version of *The Deep*.

He was particularly interested in discussing the differences between Benchley's earlier success (*Jaws*) and this new underwater thriller. The books, he insists, have nothing in common but the liquid environment. "Repeats of smash hits are always rip-offs—except for *Godfather II*, which was better than *Godfather I*."

Adapting the Benchley novel for the screen involved some problems which Yates believes were handled successfully. One was the character of the heroine. In the book she was "negative — always holding the man back, always timid, unable to participate in the adventure." The Jacqueline Bisset version of this lady is "scared for damn good reasons." She partakes of all the action. She is more "reflective" than the men. She sees the right path in the muddle of possibilities and urges it.

The other dodgy problem of the novel was the matter of skin color. The villains were black and were motivated by "political considerations." This seemed "irresponsible" since the film is set in Bermuda where, according to Yates, relations between blacks and whites are, on the whole, good.

So the motivation of the blacks was simplified. They are now interested in the morphine because it represents a lot of money. Greed is "an acceptable, because universal motivation." Also, Cloche, the principal black villain, played by Louis Gosset, who was last seen in *Roots* is "the most intelligent character in the film."

The Deep is also an example of the new look in endings. There was a period during which audiences (and the public in general) were cynical about happy endings. They preferred "untidy" ones in which the wrong people were killed. But that is changing. In Yates' opinion *The Deep* is the sort of film that ought to have a happy ending. And it does.

—J.S.



that the real mark of manhood is the ability to face the real challenges that life inevitably produces. At that level Benchley is telling us something about the difference between heroics and heroism.

But indirectly he is also saying something else. *The Deep* is a profoundly racist book. Not because its villains are black. We can certainly accept blacks as villains as well as heroes. But here *all* the villains are black, and there is not a single trustworthy or even likeable black in the book. Even more significant is the fact that Treece—the book's voice of wisdom—is an unabashed racist:

Treece noticed that Gail started at the words "black bastards" and he said, "...I have no prejudice. But I do have my biases. And my reasons. The blacks on Bermuda have ample to complain about, and they do ample complaining. But they've got a way to go before they earn my respect.

The idea that one group must earn respect is, of course, at the core of racism.

Although Gail (David's wife) is, at first, shocked by Treece's racism, she later succumbs to it. When she and David plan to go to the authorities to report the black plot to salvage a sunken cargo of morphine for the illegal drug market, they discuss what

ple's Republic of some goddam thing.

What does he really want? "Money. Power." Black revolutionary ideology is nothing but a cloak for naked self-interest.

The Deep serves up a generous measure of sexism along with its racism. David has married Gail after leaving his first wife because she bored him in bed, and because

To Gail, sex was a vehicle for expressing everything—delight, anger, hunger, love, frustration, annoyance, even outrage. As an alcoholic can find any excuse for a drink, so Gail could make anything, from the first leaf of autumn to the anniversary of Richard Nixon's resignation, a reason for making love.

Although this might be a put-on, there's every indication in the book that Benchley means what he says. A woman who expresses the whole spectrum of human emotions in sexual activity is, of course, a great male fantasy, but she is no more authentic than the pseudo-Marxist villain.

This is not merely bad writing with stereotyped characters. It is a message: not only is it perfectly all right to accept racist clichés, to describe women as purely sex objects, and to reject political action for individual heroism, but you

compressed air,..."

And blew millions of dollars to produce an eighth-rate lust-for-gold adventure.

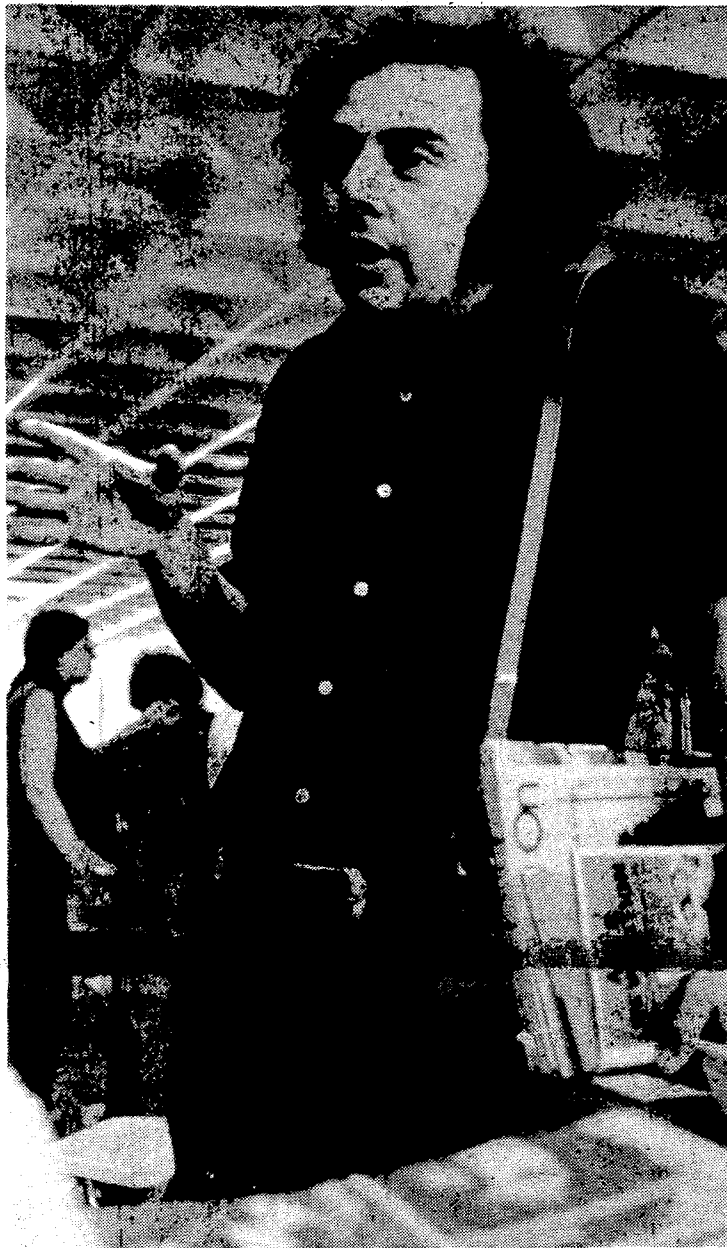
In the visual effects department the film outdoes itself. "The realistic underwater atmosphere" makes the ocean appear as well-lit and furnished as your living room. All the suspense, shadow and ambiguity we have come to associate with underwater adventure is lost.

The Deep is both racist and sexist, as well as cliché. Within its own genre its scare tactics are totally predictable: one moray eel, a bloodthirsty school of sharks, people cutting air hoses, etc. Add to this a helpless woman (in a negligee) alone in her hotel room and a group of sinister black men who continuously jump out of dark corners or enter through unlocked windows to perform acts of faked Haitian voodoo and you have the spectrum of experiences.

The plot is, to say the least, simplistic. A reasonably glamorous couple (Nick Nolte and Jacqueline Bisset) on a diving vacation to Bermuda bring up a strange medallion and a small bottle from the site of an old wreck. When they take their find to a "treasure-diving expert" (played by Robert Shaw) the

Herb Kohl: A need to teach

Persuasion not propaganda is required



Photos by Jane Melnick

By David Moberg
Staff Writer

In a school system that often cripples kids through its authoritarianism and destructive kinds of competition, simply being a good teacher is a revolutionary achievement, teacher and educational critic Herb Kohl suggests.

Yet teachers can also unite with other school workers, run for local government positions and support community control of the schools in an effort to make education serve the ends of the democratic socialist values Kohl advocates.

Working with kids seems to have kept Kohl animated, exuberant and elfin—like a greatly overgrown, 40-year-old second-grader whose bushy hair has just started to recede. His 15-year career in public school teaching has been punctuated by exits from and returns to the teachers union, a hectic turnover of jobs as he performed a "strip-tease" of his personal authoritarian crutches and covers in front of his students while searching for the "open classroom," and a steady stream of books, since the early bestseller, *36 Children*, including such works as *Reading, How to; How to Teach; The Age of Complexity* and *The Open Classroom*.

Now Kohl is a teacher in Berkeley public schools and initiator of the Center for Open Learning and Teaching. The center sends out reports on innovative educational materials and ideas, which are often published by the teachers themselves, to 50,000 sympathetic souls.

Although he doesn't make the point explicitly in his books, his teaching experiments have been motivated by socialist ideals. Those have developed over the course of his confrontations with pedagogical bureaucracies but were inspired at an

early age by a grandfather who slyly advised him always to carry his picket signs on a 2-by-4.

In an interview with *IN THESE TIMES*, Kohl criticized strains of "radical" education that are afraid of teaching or are devoted to a purely individualistic notion of self-fulfillment, but he was optimistic about the variety of ways in which socialist teachers could change schools and society.

Too many teachers and school administrators hate kids, he suggested. Also they don't realize sufficiently how the old adage—knowledge is power—applies to children learning how to read and write.

Teachers also have to run for public office and find allies in the community and among the janitors, secretaries, bus drivers, lunchroom attendants and other school workers, Kohl said.

Pleasurable and creative experiences of working cooperatively, whether on the picket line or in the classroom, will be more likely to make socialism attractive, he argued, than hectoring harangues on why socialism is a good thing.

Here's part of what Kohl said:

Do you think there's a danger of misreading what the Brazilian educator Paulo Freire has been saying about the primacy of political militancy to mean there's just struggle, struggle—and no need for education?

He's been saying very strongly that education is in a sense the essence of the struggle. The other thing he said, which I believe, is that it is quite conceivable that there is a place in human life for instruction. It is much easier for me to teach you how to run a tape recorder in two minutes than to give it to you and say, "Discover

it." It's much easier to take what limited knowledge I have about certain things and—when you want to learn it—teach you, directly.

Do you think radicalized teachers become afraid of teaching?

They become afraid of knowledge. "Radicalized" is a very complicated question. A lot of people become radicalized in the sense of rejecting the public school and everything it stands for without any social view wider than that. They can move into a libertarian school environment in which their total response is not to the creation of a future world but to the negation of traditional schooling.

Also, it seems that a reluctance to teach, leaving everything up to the kid to discover, can be very intimidating.

There are times when kids want adults to make them feel secure and to teach them, to turn over the power. I've been in a lot of situations where people have learned how to read and I've been a part of it, and therefore I've taught reading. I don't know exactly how it happens, but one of the things kids ask is why should I learn how to read. My answer is simply: if you don't and I can then I can know stuff you can't know. They want that power. Reading is the acquisition of many kinds of power.

A standard of competency.

A lot of kids who become delinquent are partly that way, it seems, because they've been shut off from that kind of power and resort to violence.

Absolutely true. I see this happen with 5- or 6-year-old kids. Teachers expect that they won't learn how to read. So they allow them to run in the halls for a while

in gangs so that life for kids in the room and the teacher can be made easier. The next time those kids approach the book they first have the notion of being behind, which must be totally eliminated.

I sometimes work with 35-year-old adults who have college degrees and can't read. Because liberals are intimidated by Third World radicals, some of them can bluff their way through an experimental program and get a degree and never be tested, which is, by the way, a form of racism that is outrageous and crippling—having no standards for Third World people. Then they have to read and say, "Herb, I'm 12 years behind." I say, "You're not behind. You just haven't learned to read. It will probably take you three weeks."

How can we use that notion of standards in a way that doesn't turn education into just passing tests and away from learning?

My standards all have to do with competency. They don't have to do with how you rank with someone else. For me success is not whether someone can produce a better film than someone else. It's can you produce a film, can you write a book. One reads or one doesn't. There are stages when you tackle something you've never read before, but nobody can ever read everything in the world. It's the level of com-

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